OBSERVATIONS

As well *Historical* as *Theological*, upon the NATURE, the NUMBER, and the OPERATIONS of the

DEVILS.

Accompany'd with,

I. Some Accounts of the Grievous Molestations, by DÆMONS and WITCHCRAFTS, which have lately annoy'd the Countrey; and the Trials of some eminent *Malefactors* Executed upon occasion thereof: with several Remarkable *Curiosities* therein occurring.

II. Some Counsils, Directing a due Improvement of the terrible things, lately done, by the Unusual & Amazing Range of EVIL SPIRITS, in Our Neighbourhood: & the methods to prevent the *Wrongs* which those *Evil Angels* may intend against all sorts of people among us; especially in Accusations of the Innocent.

III. Some Conjectures upon the great EVENTS, likely to befall, the WORLD in General, and NEW-ENGLAND in Particular; as also upon the Advances of the TIME, when we shall see BETTER DAYES.

IV A short Narrative of a late Outrage committed by a knot of WITCHES in *Swedeland*, very much Resembling, and so far Explaining, *That* under which our parts of *America* have laboured!

V. THE DEVIL DISCOVERED: In a Brief Discourse upon those TEMPTATIONS, which are the more Ordinary *Devices* of the Wicked One.

By Cotton Mather.

Boston Printed, and Sold by *Benjamin Harris*, 1693. (2)

PUblished by the Special Command of His EXCELLENCY, the Governour of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

The Authors Defence.

'TIs as I Remember, the Learned *Scribonius*, who Reports, that One of his Acquaintance, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Person molested by *Evil Spirits*, received from those *Evil Spirits* an horrible Blow over the Face: And I may my self Expect not few or small *Buffetings* from *Evil Spirits*, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to Encounter them. I am far from Insensible, That at this Extraordinary Time of the *Devils Coming down in Great Wrath upon us*, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby *Set on Fire of Hell*; that the various Opinions about the *Witchcrafts* which of Later Time have Troubled us, are maintained by some with so much Cloudy Fury, as if they could never be sufficiently Stated, unless written in the Liquor wherewith *Witches* use to write their Covenants; and that he who becomes an Author at such a Time, had need be, *Fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear.* The unaccountable Frowardness, Asperity, Untreatableness, and Inconsistency of many persons, every Day gives a Visible Exposition of that passage, *An Evil Spirit from the Lord came upon* Saul; and Illustration of that Story, *There met him two Possessed with Devils, exceeding Fierce, so that no man might pass by that way.* To send

abroad a Book, among ſuch Readers, were a very unadviſed Thing if a man had not ſuch *Reaſons* to give as I can bring, for ſuch an Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be ſaid, *They are all ſo:* No, I hope the *Body* of this People, are yet in ſuch a Temper, as to be capable of Applying their Thoughts, to make a *Right Uſe*, of the Stupendous and prodigious Things that are happening among us: and becauſe I was concern'd, when I ſaw that no Abler Hand Emitted any *Eſſayes* to Engage the Minds of this People in ſuch Holy, Pious, Fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of His Amazing Diſpenſations now upon us, THEREFORE it is that One of the Leaſt among the Children of *New-England*, has here done, what is done. None, but, *The Father who ſees in Secret*, knows the Heart-breaking Exerciſes, wherewith I have Compoſed what is now going to be Expoſed; Leſt I ſhould in any *One Thing*, miſs of Doing my Deſigned Service for His Glory, and for His People; But *I* am now ſomewhat comfortably Aſſured of *His* favourable Acceptance; and, *I will not Fear*; *what can a Satan do unto me*!

Having *Performed*, Something of what God *Required*, in labouring to ſuit His *Words* unto His *Works*, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a *Theme* that has been ſometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a *King*, it will eaſily be perceived, that ſome ſubordinate *Ends* have been conſidered in theſe Endeavours.

I have indeed ſet my ſelf to Countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, againſt *New-England*, in every Branch of it, as far as one of my *Darkneſs*, can comprehend ſuch a *Work of Darkneſs*. I may add, that I have herein alſo aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good men in another Countrey, a Thouſand Leagues off, where I have, it may be *More*, or however, more *Conſiderable*, Friends, than in *My Own*; And I do what I can to have that Countrey, now, as well as alwayes, in the beſt Terms with, *My Own*. But while I am doing theſe things, I have been driven a little to do ſomething likewiſe for *My ſelf*; I mean, by taking off the falſe Reports and hard Cenſures about my Opinion in theſe matters, the *Parters Portion*, which my *purſuit of Peace*, has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *Unvaried Thoughts* are here Publiſhed; and, I believe, they will be owned by *moſt*, of the Miniſters of God in theſe Colonies: nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other ſorts of *Repreſentations*.

In fine, For the *Dogmatical* part of my Diſcourſe, I want no Defence; for the *Hiſtorical* part of it, I have a very Great One. The Lievtenant Governour of *New-England*, having peruſed it, has done me the Honour of giving me a *Shield*, under the Umbrage whereo I now dare to walk Abroad.

Reverend

Reverend and Dear Sir,

'YOU Very much Gratify'd me, as well as put 'a kind Reſpect upon me, when you put 'into my hands. Your Elaborate and moſt ſeaſon-'able Diſcourſe, entituled, *The Wonders of The Inviſi-'ble World.* And having now Peruſed ſo fruitful 'and happy a Compoſure, upon ſuch a Subject, 'at this Juncture of Time, and conſidering the 'Place that I Hold in the Court of *Oyer* and '*Terminer*, ſtill Labouring and proceeding in the 'Trial of the perſons Accuſed and Convicted for 'Witchcraft, I find that I am more nearly and high-'ly concerned than as a meer Ordinary Reader, to 'Expreſs my Obligation and Thankfulneſs to you, 'for ſo great pains; and cannot but hold my ſelf 'many ways bound, even to the utmoſt of what is 'proper for me, in my preſent Publick Capacity, 'to declare my *Singular Approbation* thereof. Such 'is Your *Deſign*, moſt plainly expreſſed throughout 'the whole; ſuch Your *Zeal* for God; Your *En-'mity* to Satan and his Kingdom; Your *Faithfulneſs* 'and *Compaſſion* to this poor people; Such the *Vi-'gour*, but yet great *Temper* of your Spirit; Such 'your *Inſtruction* and Counſel; your CARE Of 'TRUTH; Your *Wiſdom* and Dexterity in allay-'ing and moderating, that among us, which needs 'it; Such Your clear Diſcerning of Divine *Pro-'vidences* and *Periods*, now running on apace to-'wards their Glorious Iſſues in the World; and 'finally, Such your Good News of, *The Shortneſs of 'the Devils Time*; That all Good Men muſt needs

'Deſire

'Desire the making of this your Discourse, Publick
'to the World; and will greatly Rejoyce that the
'*Spirit of the Lord* has thus Enabled you to *Lift up*
'*a Standard* against the Infernal Enemy, that hath
'been *Coming in like a Flood upon us*. I do therefore
'make it my particular and Earnest Request unto
'you, that as soon as may be, you will Commit the
'same unto the PRESS accordingly.

I am,
Your Assured Friend,
William Stoughton.

I Live by *Neighbours*, that force me to produce these Undeserved Lines. But now, as when Mr. *Wilson*, beholding a great Muster of Souldiers, had it by a Gentleman then present, said unto him, *Sir, I'l tell you a great Thing; here is a mighty Body of People; and there is not SEVEN of them all but what Loves Mr.* Wilson; that Gracious Man presently & pleasantly Reply'd, *Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty Body of People; and there is not so much as ONE among them all, but Mr.* Wilson *Loves him.* Somewhat so; 'Tis possible that among, this Body of People, there may be few, that Love the Writer of this Book; but, give me leave to boast so far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this *Mather* would not Study to *Serve*, as well as to *Love*. With such a *Spirit of Love*, is the Book now before us written; I appeal to all *this World*; and if *this* World, will deny me the Right of acknowledging so much, I Appeal to the *Other*, that it is, *Not written with an Evil Spirit*: for which cause, I shall not wonder if *Evil Spirits*, be Exasperated by what is *Written*, as the *Sadducees* doubtless were with what was *Discoursed* in the Days of our Saviour. I only Demand the *Justice*, that others *Read* it, with the same Spirit wherewith I *writ* it.

Enchantments

Enchantments

Encountred.

§ 1. IT was as long ago, as the year 1637. that a Faithful Minister of the Church of *England*, whose Name was Mr. *Edward Symons*, did in a Sermon afterwards Printed, thus Express himselfe; 'At *New-England* now the Sun of Comfort begins to appear, 'and the Glorious Day-Star to show it self; —— *Sed Venient Annis Sæcula Seris*, there will come Times, in 'after-ages when *the Clouds will over-shadow and darken the Sky there*. Many now promise to themselves no-'thing but successive Happiness there, which *for a Time* 'through Gods Mercy they may Enjoy; and I Pray 'God, they may a *Long Time*; but in this World there 'is no Happiness perpetual. An *Observation*, Or, *I* had almost said, an *Inspiration*, very dismally now verify'd upon us! It has been affirm'd by some who best knew *New-England*, That the World will do *New-England* a great piece of Injustice, if it acknowledge not a measure of Religion, Loyalty, Honesty and Industry, in the people there, beyond what is to be found with any other people for the Number of them. When I did a few years ago, publish a Book, which mentioned a few *Memorable Witchcrafts*, committed in this Country; the Excellent

Excellent *Baxter* graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he ſees cauſe to ſay, *If any are Scandalized, that* New-England, *a place of as ſerious Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, ſhould be Troubled ſo much with Witches, I think, tis no Wonder: Where will the Devil ſhow moſt Malice, but where he is Hated, and Hateth moſt* ; And I hope, the Country will ſtill deſerve and anſwer, the Charity ſo Expreſſed by that Reverend man of God ! Whoſoever travels over this Wilderneſs, will ſee it richly beſpangled with Evangelical *Churches*, whoſe Paſtors are Holy, Able, & Painful *Overſeers* of their Flocks, Lively Preachers, and Vertuous Livers ; and ſuch as in their Several Neighbourly *Aſſociations*, have had their Meetings whereat Eccleſiaſtical matters of common Concernment are Conſidered : *Churches*, whoſe Communicants have been ſeriouſly Examined about their Experiences of *Regeneration*, as well as about their Knowledge, and Beleef and Blameleſs Converſation, before their Admiſſion to the Sacred Communion ; although others of leſs but Hopeful Attainments in Chriſtianity are not ordinarily deny'd Baptiſm for themſelves and theirs ; *Churches*, which are Shy of uſing any thing in the Worſhip of God, for which they cannot ſee a Warrant of God ; but with whom yet the Names of *Congregational*, *Presbyterian*, *Epiſcopalian*, or, *Antipædobaptiſt*, are ſwallowed up in that of, *Chriſtian* ; Perſons of all thoſe Perſwaſions being actually taken into our Fellowſhip, when *Viſible Godlineſs* has Recommended them : *Churches*, which uſually do within themſelves manage their own Diſcipline, under the Conduct of their Elders ; but yet call in the help of *Synods* upon Emergencies, or Aggrievances : *Churches*, Laſtly, wherein Multitudes are growing Ripe for Heaven every Day ; and as faſt as theſe are taken

ken off, others are daily Riſing up. And by the preſence and power of the *Divine Inſtitutions* thus mentained in the Country, we are ſtill ſo Happy, that, I ſuppoſe, there is no Land in the Univerſe more free from the Debauching, and the Debaſing Vices of Ungodlineſs. The Body of the People are hitherto ſo diſpoſed, that *Swearing*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Whoring*, *Drunkenneſs*, and the like, do not make a *Gentleman*, but a *Monſter*, or a *Goblin*, in the Vulgar Eſtimation. All this notwithſtanding, we muſt humbly Confeſs to our *God*, that we are miſerably Degenerated from the *Firſt Love*, of our Predeceſſors; however we *boaſt our ſelves a litile*, when *Men* would go to trample upon us, and we venture to ſay, *Whereinſoever any is bold* (*we ſpeak fooliſhly*) *we are bold alſo*. The firſt Planters of theſe Colonies were a *Choſen Generation* of men, who were firſt ſo *Pure*, as to diſreliſh many things which they thought wanted *Reformation* elſe where; and yet withal ſo *Peaceable*, that they Embraced a Voluntary Exile in a Squalid, horrid, *American* Deſart, rather than to Live in Contentions with their Brethren. Thoſe Good men imagined that they ſhould Leave their Poſterity, in a place, where they ſhould never ſee the Inroads of *Profanity*, or *Superſtition*; and a famous Perſon returning hence could in a Sermon before the Parliament, profeſs, *I have now been ſeven years in a Country, where I never ſaw one man drunk, or heard one Oath ſworn, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets, all the while.* Such great perſons as *Budæus*, and others, who miſtook Sir. *Thomas Mores* UTOPIA, for a Country really Exiſtent, and ſtirr'd up ſome Divines Charitably to undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Miſtake; *New-England* was a true *Utopia*. But alas, the Children, and Servants of thoſe Old Planters

Planters, must needs afford many, *Degenerate Plants*, and there is now Risen up a Number of people, otherwise Inclined than our *Joshua's* and the *Elders that outlived them*. Those two things, our Holy *Progenitors*, and our Happy *Advantages*, make *Omissions* of Duty, and such *Spiritual Disorders* as the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as Provoking in *us*, as the most flagitious wickednesses *Committed* in other places; and the Ministers of God are accordingly severe in their Testimonies. But in Short, Those Interests of the *Gospel*, which were the Errand of our Fathers into these Ends of the Earth, have been too much Neglected and Postponed, and the Attainments of an hand-some *Education*, have been too much undervalued, by *Multitudes*, that have not fallen into Exorbitancies of Wickedness; and *some*, especially of our Young ones, when they have got abroad from under the *Restraints* here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence tis, that the Happiness of *New-England*, has been, *but for a Time*, as it was foretold, and not for a *Long Time*, as ha's been desir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity ha's long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reason imaginable to ascribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold *Apostasies*; we make no Right use of our Disasters, if we do not, *Remember whence we are fallen, and Repent, and Do the first works*. But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Consideration with us: there is a further cause of our Afflictions, whose *Due* must be *Given* him.

§ II. The *New-Englanders*, are a People of God settled in those, which were once the *Devils* Territories; and it may easily be supposed that the *Devil* was Exceedingly disturbed

disturbed, when he perceived such a people here accomplishing the Promise of old made unto our Blessed Jesus, *That He should have the Utmost parts of the Earth for His Possession.* There was not a greater Uproar among the *Ephesians*, when the Gospel was first brought among them, then there was among, *The Powers of the Air* (after whom those *Ephesians* walked) when first the *Silver Trumpets* of the Gospel here made the *Joyful Sound.* The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all sorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and so much of the Church, as was *Fled into this Wilderness*, immediately found, *The Serpent cast out of his Mouth, a Flood for the carrying of it away.* I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* used for the Unsetling of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted, Casting out the Heathen, and Preparing a Room before it, and causing it to take deep Root, and fill the Land; so that it sent its Boughs unto the* Atlantic Sea Eastward, *and its Branches unto the* Connecticut *River* Westward, *and the Hills were covered with the Shadow thereof.* But, All those Attempts of Hell, have hitherto been Abortive, many an *Ebenezer* has been Erected unto the Praise of God, by His Poor People here; and, *Having obtained Help from God, we continue to this Day.* Wherefore the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprizing, more snarl'd with unintelligible Circumstances than any that we have hitherto Encountred; an Attempt, so *Critical*, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy *Halcyon* Days with all the *Vultures* of Hell, *Trodden under our Feet.* He has wanted his *Inearnate Legions*, to Persecute us, as the People of God, have in the other Hemisphere been Persecuted: he has therefore drawn forth his more *Spiritual* ones to make an Attaeque upon us. We have been advised,

vised, by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice, of, *An Horrible PLOT against the Country, by WITCHCRAFT, and a Foundation of WITCHRAFT then Laid, which if it were not seasonably Discovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country.* And we have now with Horror seen the *Discovery* of such a *Witchcraft!* An Army of *Devils* is horribly broke in, upon the place which is the *Center* and after a sort, the *First-born* of our English Settlements: and the Houses of the Good People there, are fill'd with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the Mischiefs there Endeavoured, and since in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of, *Evil Angels*, hath made its progress into some other places, where other persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. These our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they become *Infected* and *Infested* with these *Dæmons*, arrive to a Capacity of Discerning those which they conceive the *Shapes* of their Troublers; and notwithstanding the Great and Just Suspicion, that the *Dæmons* might Impose the *Shapes* of Innocent Persons in their *Spectral Exhibitions* upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no small part of the *Witch-Plot* in the issue) yet many of the persons thus Represented, being Examined, several of them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *Witchcraft*: yea, more than One *Twenty* have *Confessed*, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil show'd them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land. *We* know not, at least *I* know not, how far the *Delusions* of Satan may be Interwoven into some Circumstances of the *Confessions*; but one

one would think, all the Rules of Understanding Humane Affayrs are at an end, if after so many most Voluntary Harmonious *Confessions*, made by Intelligent persons of all Ages, in sundry Towns, at several Times, we must not Believe the *main strokes* wherein those *Confessions* all agree: especially when we have a thousand preternatural Things every day before our eyes, wherein the *Confessors* do acknowledge their Concernment, and give Demonstration of their being so Concerned. If the Devils now can strike the minds of men, with any *Poisons* of so fine a Composition and Operation, that scores of Innocent People shall Unite, in *Confessions* of a Crime, which we see actually committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of a Dissolution upon the World. Now, by these *Confessions* 'tis Agreed, *That* the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of *Witches* in the Country, and by the help of *Witches* has dreadfully Encreased that Knot: *That* these *Witches* have driven a Trade of Commissioning their *Confederate Spirits*, to do all sorts of Mischiefs to the Neighbours, whereupon there have Ensued such Mischievous consequences upon the Bodies, and Estates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for: yea, *That* at prodigious *Witch-Meetings*, the Wretches have proceeded so far, as to Concert and Consult the Methods of Rooting out the Christian Religion from this Country, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more gross *Diabolism*, than ever the World saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of *Miracle*, if in so *spread* a Business, as this, the Devil should not get in some of his Juggles, to confound the Discovery of all the rest.

§. 3. Doubtless, the Thoughts of many will receive

ceive a Great Scandal againſt *New-England*, from the Number of Perſons that have been Accuſed, or Suſpected, for *Witchcraft*, in this Country: But it were eaſy to offer many things, that may Anſwer and Abate the Scandal. If the Holy God ſhould any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked *Scholars*, into *Witchcraft*, and then by their Aſſiſtance to Range with their *Poiſonous Inſinuations*, among Ignorant, Envious, Diſcontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into ſome ſudden *Act*, whereby the Toyls of Hell ſhall be perhaps inextricably caſt over them: what Country in the World, would not afford *Witches*, numerous to a Prodigy? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of *Sweeden*, *Denmark*, *Seetland*, yea, and *England* it ſelf, as well as the Province of *New-England*, have had their Storms of *Witchcrafts* breaking upon them, which have made moſt Lamentable Deva ſtations: which alſo I wiſh, may be, *The Laſt*. And it is not uneaſy to be imagined, That God ha's not brought out all the *Witchcrafts* in many other Lands, with ſuch a ſpeedy, dreadful, deſtroying *Jealouſy*, as burns forth upon ſuch *High Treaſons* committed here in, *A Land of Uprightneſs*: Tranſgreſſors, may more quickly here, than elſe where become a prey to the Vengeance of Him, *Who ha's Eyes like a Flame of Fire*, and, *who walks in the midſt of the Golden Candleſticks*. Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occaſion inſult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happened at *Loim*, in the Dutchy of *Gulic*, where, a Popiſh Curate, having ineffectually try'd many Charms, to Eject the Devil out of a Damſel there poſſeſſed, he Paſſionately bid the Devil come out of her, into himſelf; but the Devil anſwered him, *Quid mihi Opus eſt eum tentare, quem Noviſſimo Die, Jure*

Jure Optimo sum Posseßurus? that is, *What need I meddle with one, whom I am sure to have and hold at the Last Day, as my own forever!*

But besides all this, give me Leave to add; it is to be hoped, That among the persons represented by the *Spectres* which now afflict our Neighbours, there will be found *some* that never explicitly contracted with any of the *Evil Angels*. The Witches have not only intimated, but some of them acknowledged, That they have plotted the Representations of *Innocent Persons*, to cover and shelter themselves in their Witchcrafts; now, altho' our good God has hitherto generally preserved us, from the Abuse therein Design'd by the Devils for us, yet who of us can Exactly State, *How far our God may for our Chastisement permit the Devil to proceed in such an Abuse?* It was the Result of a Discourse, lately held at a Meeting of some very Pious, and Learned, Ministers among us, *That the Devils may sometimes have a permission to Represent an Innocent Person, as Tormenting such as are under Diabolical Molestations: But that such Things are Rare and Extraordinary, especially, when such Matters come before Civil Judicature.* The Opinion Expressed with so much Caution and Judgment, seems to be the prevailing Sense of many others; who are men Eminently Cautious and Judicious; and have both *Argument* and *History* to Countenance them in it. It is *Rare and Extraordinary*, for an Honest *Naboth* to have his Life it self Sworn away, by two *Children of Belial*, and yet no Infringement hereby made on the Rectoral Righteousness of our Eternal Soveraign, whose *Judgments are a Great Deep*, and who *gives none Account of His Matters*. Thus, although, the Appearance of Innocent Persons, in *Spectral Exhibitions* afflicting the Neighbourhood, be a thing *Rare and Extraordinary*; yet who can be sure, that the great *Belial* of Hell must needs be alwayes

ei, and those bloody *Felons*, be wholly left Unprosecuted. The *Witchcraft* is a Business, that will not be *Sham'd*, without plunging us into *sore plagues and of Long Continuance*. But then, we are to *Unite* in such *Methods*, for this Deliverance, as may be unquestionably *Safe*; Lest, *The Latter End be worse then the Beginning*. And here, what I shall say? I will venture to say, thus much; That we are *Safe*, when we make just as much *Use* of all Advice from the Invisible World, as God sends it for. It is a *Safe* Principle, That when God Almighty permits any Spirits from the Unseen Regions, to visit us with Surprising Informations, there is then something to be *Enquired* after; we are then to *Enquire* of one another, *What Cause there is for such Things?* The peculiar Government of God, over the Unbodied Intelligences, is a sufficient Foundation for this Principle. When there has been a *Murder* Committed, an Apparition of the slain Party Accusing of any man, altho' such Apparitions have oftener spoke *True* than *False*, is not enough to Convict the man, as Guilty of that *Murder*; but yet it is a sufficient Occasion for Magistrates to make a particular *Enquiry*, whether such a man have afforded any ground for such an Accusation. Even so, a *Spectre*, exactly Resembling such or such a person, when the Neighbourhood are Tormented by such *Spectres*, may reasonably make Magistrates Inquisitive, whether the person so Represented have done or said any thing that may Argue their Confederacy with Evil Spirits; altho' it may be defective enough in point of *Conviction*; especially at a Time, when 'tis possible, some Over-powerful Conjurer may have got the skill of thus Exhibiting the *Shapes* of all sorts of persons, on purpose to stop the prosecution of the Wretches whom due *Enquiries* thus provoked, might have made obnoxious unto Justice. *Quære*, Whether if God would have us, to proceed any further than bare *Enquiry*, upon what

Reports there may come against any man, from the *World of Spirits*, He will not by His Providence at the same time have brought into our Hands, these more *Evident* & *Sensible* Things, wherein, a man is to be esteemed a Criminal. But I will venture to say this further; That it will be *Safe*, to account the *Names* as well as the *Lives* of our Neighbours, too considerable Things to be brought under a *Judicial Process*, until it be found by *Humane Observations*, that the peace of Mankind, is then by disturbed. We are *Humane Creatures*; and we are *Safe* while we say, they must be *Humane Witnesses*, who also have in the particular Act of Seeing, or Hearing, which enables them to be *Witnesses*, had no more than *Humane Assistences*, that are to Turn the Scale, when *Laws* are to be Executed. And, upon this Head, I will further add; A Wise and a Just Magistrate, may so far give way to a common Stream of Dissatisfaction, as to forbear Acting up to the Heighth of his own perswasion, about, what may be judg'd *Convictive*, of a Crime, whose Nature shall be so abstruse and obscure, as to raise much Disputation. Tho' he may not *Do* what he should *Leave Undone*, yet he may *Leave Undone* something that else he could *Do*, when the Publick Safety, makes an *Exigency*.

§ 7. I was going to make one Venture more; that is, to offer some *Safe* Rules, for the finding out of the *Witches* which are at this Day our *Accursed Troublers*: but this were a Venture too *Presumptuous* and *Icarian* for *Me* to make. I leave that unto those Excellent and Judicious Persons, with whom I am not worthy to be Numbred: all that I shall do, shall be to lay before my Readers, a brief *Synopsis* of what has been Written on that Subject, by a *Triumvirate*, of as Eminent Persons, as have ever handled it. I will begin with,

An

Encountred

An Abstract of Mr. *Perkin*'s way for the Discovery of Witches.

I. *There are* Presumptions, *which do at least Probably and Conjecturally note one to be a* Witch. *These, give Occasion to Examine, yet they are no Sufficient Causes of Conviction.* II. *If any man or woman, be notoriously defamed for a Witch; this yeelds a strong Suspition. Yet the Judge ought Carefully to Look, that the Report be made by men of Honesty and Credit.* III. *If a Fellow Witch, or Magician, give Testimony of any Person to be a Witch; this indeed is not sufficient for Condemnation; but it is a fit Presumption, to cause a strait Examination.* IV. *If after Cursing there follow Death, or at least, some mischief: for Witches are wont to practise their mischievous Facts, by Cursing and Banning: This also is a sufficient matter of Examination, tho' not of Conviction.* V. *If after Enmity, Quarrelling, or Threatening, a present mischief do's follow; that also is a great Presumption.* VI. *If the Party suspected be the Son or Daughter, the man-servant or maid-servant, the Familiar Friend; near Neighbour, or old Companion, of a known and Convicted* Witch: *This may be likewise a presumption: for Witchcraft is an Art, that may be Learn'd, and Convey'd from man to man.* VII. *Some add this for a Presumption; If the party Suspected be found to have the Devils mark; for it is Commonly thought, when the Devil makes his Covenant with them, he always Leaves his mark behind them, whereby he knows them for his own: — a mark, whereof no Evident Reason, in Nature can be given.* VIII. *Lastly, If the party Examined be Unconstant, or Contrary to himself, in his Deliberate Answers, it argueth a Guilty Conscience, which stops the Freedom of Utterance. And yet, there are causes of Astonishment, which may befal the Good, as well as the* Bad, IX. *But then there is a* Conviction, *discovering the* Witch; *which must proceed from just and sufficient proofs, and not from bare Presumptions.* X. *Scratch*

ing of the Suspected Party, and Recovery thereupon; with several other such weak proofs; as also, the Fleeting of the Suspected Party, thrown upon the Water; These proofs are so far from being sufficient, that some of them, are after a sort, practices of Witchcraft. XI. The Testimony of some Wizzard, tho' offering to shew the Witches face in a Glass; This I grant, may be a good presumption, to cause a strait Examination; but a sufficient proof of Conviction, it cannot be. If the Devil tell the Grand-Jury, that the Person in Question, is a Witch, and offers withal, to confirm the same by Oath, should the Inquest Receive his Oath or Accusation to Condemn the man? Assuredly No. And yet, that is as much as the Testimony of another Wizzard, who only by the Devils Help, Reveals the Witch. XII. If a man being dangerously Sick, and like to Dy, upon Suspicion, will take it on his Death, that such an one hath Bewitched him, it is an Allegation of the same Nature, which may move the Judge to Examine the Party,; but it is of no ornament for Conviction. XIII. Among the sufficient means of Conviction, the first is, the Free and Voluntary Confession of the Crime, made by the Party Suspected, and Accused, after Examination. I say not, that a bare Confession is sufficient, but a Confession after due Examination, taken upon pregnant presumptions. What needs now more Witness, or further Enquiry? XIV. There is a second sufficient Conviction, by the Testimony of Two Witnesses, of Good and Honest Report avouching before the Magistrate upon their own Knowledge, these two Things: either that the Party Accused, hath made a League with the Devil, or hath done some known practices of Witchcraft. And, all Arguments that do Necessarily prove either of these, being brought by two sufficient Witnesses, are of Force, fully to Convince the Party Suspected. XV. If it can be proved that the Party Suspected, hath called upon the Devil, or desired his Help; this is a pregnant proof of a League formerly made between them. XVI. If it can be proved, that the Party hath Entertained a Familiar Spirit, and had Conference with

in, in the Likeneſs of ſome viſible Creatures: here is Evidence of Witchcraft. XVII. *If the Witneſſes affirm upon Outh, that the Suſpected perſon, hath done any Action, or work, which neceſſarily infers a Covenant made: as that he hath uſed Enchantments; Divined of things before they come to paſs, and that peremptorily; Raiſed Tempeſts; cauſed the Form of a Dead Man to appear; it proveth ſufficiently that he or ſhe is a Witch.* This is the Subſtance of *Mr. Perkins.* Take, Next, The Summ of Mr *Gaules* Judgment, about the Detection of *Witches.* 'I Some *Tokens* for the Trial of 'Witches, are altogether *Unwarrantable.* Such are the old 'Paganiſh Sign, The Witches *Long Eyes*; The Tradition, 'of the Witches not weeping; The caſting of the Witch 'into the Water, with Thumbs, and Toes, ty'd acroſs. 'And many more ſuch Marks, which if they are to know a 'witch by, certainly 'tis no other witch, but the Uſer of them. 'II. There are ſome *Tokens* for the Trial of *Witches*, more 'probable: and yet not ſo certain as to afford Conviction. 'Such are, ſtrong and long Suſpicion: Suſpected Anceſtors: ſome Appearance of Fact: The Corpſe bleeding 'upon the Witches Touch: The *Teſtimony of the Party Bewitched*: The Suppoſed, Witches unuſual *Bodily Marks*; 'The Witches uſual Curſing and Banning: The Witches lewd and naughty kind of Life. III. Some Signs there 'are of a *Witch*, more certain and infallible. As, *Firſtly*, 'Declining of Judicature, or Faltring, Faulty, Unconſtant, 'and Contrary Anſwers, upon Judicial and Deliberate 'Examination. *Secondly*, when upon due Enquiry, into a 'perſons Faith and Manners, there are found *all* or *moſt* 'of the cauſes, which produce *Witchcraft*; namely, *God* 'Forſaking, *Satan* invading, particular *Sins* diſpoſing, and 'Laſtly a *Compact* complcating all. *Thirdly*, The Witches 'free Confeſſion, together with Full Evidence of the Fact. 'Confeſſion without Fact, may be a meer Deluſion; and

Fact

Fact without *Confession* may be a meer Accident. *4thly*, 'The Semblable Gestures & Actions of suspected Witch-'es, with the comparable Expressions of Affections, 'which in all Witches have been observ'd and found 'very much alike. *Fifthly*, The Testimony of the *Party* '*Bewitched*, whether Pining or Dying, together with the 'joint Oaths of sufficient persons, that have seen certain pre-'digious *Pranks* or *Feats*, wrought by the Party Accused. 'IV. Among the most unhappy Circumstances, to Con-'vict a Witch. One is, A Maligning and Oppugning, the 'Word, Work, and worship of God: and by any Extra-'ordinary Sign seeking to seduce any from it. See Deut. 13. '1,2. Math. 24. 24. Act. 13:8,10. 2 Tim. 3 8. Do but 'mark well the places; & for this very Property (of thus '(Opposing and perverting) they are all there concluded 'arrant and absolute Witches. *V.* It is not requisite, that 'so *palpable Evidence* of *Conviction*, should here come in, 'as in other more sensible matters. 'Tis enough, if there be 'but so much *Circumstantial* proof or Evidence; as the '*Substance*, matter, and Nature of such an Abstruse Myste-'ry of Iniquity will well admit. [*I suppose he means, that whereas in other Crimes, we Look for more Direct Proofs, in this there is a greater use of Consequential ones*] But I could 'heartily wish that the Juries were Empannelled of the 'most Eminent Physicians, Lawyers, and Divines, that a 'Country could afford. In the mean time, 'tis not to be 'called a *Toleration*, if Witches escape, where *Conviction* 'is wanting. To this purpose our *Gaule*.

I will Transcribe a Little from one Author more. 'Tis the Judicious *Bernard* of *Batcombe*; who in his *Guide to Grand-Jury men*, after he ha's mentioned several Things that are shrow'd *Presumptions* of a *Witch*, proceeds to such Things as are the *Convictions* of such an one. And he says, 'A Witch, *in League with the Devil, is Convicted by*

'these

'*these Evidences*; *I.* By a Witches *Mark*; which is up-
'on the Baſer ſort of Witches; and this, by the Devils ei-
'ther Sucking or Touching of them. *Tertullian* ſays, *It*
'*is the Devils cuſtome to mark his.* And note, That this
'mark is *Inſenſible*, and being prick'd, it will not Bleed.
'Sometimes, its like a *Teate*; ſometimes but a *Blewiſh Spot*:
'ſometimes a *Red* one; and ſometimes the *Fleſh Sunk*: but
'the Witches do ſometimes cover them. *II.* By the
'Witches *Words*. As when they have been heard calling
'on, ſpeaking to, or Talking of, their *Familiars*; or, when
'they have been heard *Telling* of *Hurt* they have done
'to man or beaſt: Or when they have been heard *Threat-*
'*ning* of ſuch Hurt; Or if they have been heard Relating
'their *Tranſportations*. *III.* By the Witches *Deeds*. As
'when they have been *ſeen* with their Spirits, or ſeen ſecret-
'ly Feeding any of their *Imps*. Or, when there can be
'found their Pictures, Poppets, and other Helliſh Com-
'poſitions. *IV.* By the Witches *Extaſies*: With the
'Delight whereof, Witches are ſo taken, that they will
'hardly conceal the ſame: Or, however at ſome time or
'other, they may be found in them. *V.* By one or more
'*Fellow-Witches*, Confeſſing their own Witchcraft, & bear-
'ing Witneſs againſt others; if they can make good the
'Truth of their Witneſs, and give ſufficient proof of it.
'As, that they have ſeen them with their Spirits; or, that
'they have Received Spirits from them; or, that they can
'tell, when they uſed Witchery-Tricks to Do Harm; or,
'that they told them what Harm they had done; or that
'they can ſhow the mark upon them; or, that they have
'been together in their Meetings; and ſuch like. *VI.* By
'ſome *Witneſs of God* Himſelf, happening upon the Exe-
'crable Curſes of Witches upon themſelves, Praying of
'God to ſhow ſome Token, if they be Guilty. *VII.* By
'the Witches own *Confeſſion*, of Giving their Souls to the
'Devil. It is no Rare thing, for Witches to Confeſs.

They are Considerable Things, which I have thus Recited; and yet it must be with *Open Eyes*, kept upon *Open Rules*, that we are to follow these things.

S. 8. But *Juries* are not the only Instruments to be imployd in such a Work; all *Christians* are to be concerned with daily and fervent *Prayers*, for the assisting of it. In the Days of *Athanasius*, the Devils were found unable to stand before, that *Prayer*, however then used perhaps with too much of Ceremony, *Let God Arise, Let his Enemies be Scattered. Let them also that Hate Him, flee before Him.*

O that instead of letting our Hearts *Rise* against one another, our Prayers might *Rise* unto an high pitch of Importunity, for such a *Rising* of the Lord! Especially, Let them that are *Suffering* by *Witchcraft*, be sure to *Stay* and *pray*, and *Beseech the Lord thrice*, even as much as ever they can, before they complain of any Neighbour for afflicting them. Let them also that are *Accused* of *Witchcraft*, set themselves to *Fast* and *Pray*, and to shake off the *Daemons* that would like *Vipers* fasten upon them; and get the *Waters of Jealousie* made profitable to them.

And Now, O *Thou Hope of* New-England, *and the Saviour thereof in the Time of Trouble; Do thou look mercifully down upon us, & Rescue us, out of the Trouble which at this time do's threaten to swallow us up. Let Satan be shortly bruised under our Feet, and Let the Covenanted Vassals of Satan which have Traiterously brought him in upon us, be Gloriously Conquered, by thy Powerful and Gracious Presence in the midst of us. Abhor us not, O God, but cleanse us, but heal us, but save us, for the sake of thy Glory, Enwrapped in our Salvations. By thy Spirit, Lift up a Standard against our infernal adversaries; Let us quickly find the making of us glad, according to the Days wherein we have been afflicted. Accept of all our Endeavours to glorify thee, in the Fires that are upon us; and among the rest, Let these my poor and weak essays, composed with what Tears, what Cares, what Prayers, thou only knowest, not want the Acceptance of the Lord.* Amen.

A

always *Yoked* up, from this Piece of Mischief? The best man that ever lived has been called a *Witch*: and why may not this too usual and unhappy Symptom of, A *Witch*, even a Spectral Representation, befall a person that shall be none of the worst? Is it not possible? the *Laplanders* will tell us 'tis possible: for Persons to be unwittingly attended with officious *Daemons*, bequeathed unto them, and impos'd upon them, by Relations that have been *Witches*. *Quære*, also, Whether at a Time, when the Devils with his Witches are engag'd in an actual *War* upon a people, some certain steps of ours, in such a *War*, may not be follow'd with our appearing so and so for a while among them in the Visions of our afflicted *Forlorns*! And, Who can certainly say, what other Degrees, & Methods of sinning, besides that of a *Diabolical Compact*, may give the Devils advantage, to act in the Shape of them that have miscarried? Besides what may happen for a while, to try the *Patience* of the Virtuous. May not some that have been ready upon feeble grounds uncharitably to Censure and Reproach other people, be punished for it by *Spectres* for a while exposing them to Censure and Reproach? And furthermore, I pray, that it may be considered, Whether a World of Magical Tricks often used in the World, may not insensibly oblige *Devils* to wait upon the Superstitious Users of them. A Witty Writer against *Sadducism*, has this Observation, That persons, who never made any Express Contract with *Apostate Spirits*, yet may Act strange Things by *Diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the use of those wicked *Forms* and *Arts*, that the Devil first Imparted unto his Confederates. And he adds, *We know not, but the Laws of the Dark Kingdom, may Enjoyn a particular Attendence upon all those that practise their Mysteries, whether they know them to be theirs or no.* Some of them that have been Cry'd out upon, as *Employing*

Evil Spirits to Hurt our Land, have been known to be most bloody *Fortune-Tellers*; and some of them have Confessed, That when they told *Fortunes*, they would pretend the Rules of *Chiromancy* and the like Ignorant Sciences, but indeed, they had no Rule (they said) but this, *The Things were then Darted into their Minds. Darted!* Ye Wretches; By whom, I pray. Surely, by none but the *Devils*; who, tho' perhaps they did not exactly *Foreknow* all the thus Predicted Contingencies; yet having once *Foretold* them, they stood bound in Honour now, to use their Interest, which alas, in *This World*, is very great, for the Accomplishment of their own Predictions. There are others, that have used most wicked *Sorceries* to gratify their unlawful Curiosities, or to prevent Inconveniencies in Man and Beast; *Sorceries*; which I will not *Name*, lest I should by Naming, *Teach* them. Now, some *Devil* is evermore Invited into the Service of the Person that shall practise these *Witchcrafts*; and if they have gone on Impenitently in these Communions with any *Devil*, the *Devil* may perhaps become at last a *Familiar* to them, and so assume their *Livery*, that they cannot shake him off in any way, but that One, which *I* would most heartily prescribe unto them, Namely, That of a deep and long *Repentance*. Should these *Impieties*, have been committed in such a place as *New-England*, for my part I should not wonder, if when *Devils* are Exposing the *Grosser* Witches among us, God permit them, to bring in these *Lesser* ones with the rest, for their perpetual Humiliation. In the Issue therefore, may it not be found, that *New-England* is not so Stock'd with *Rattle Snakes*, as was imagined?

§ 4. But *I* do not believe, that the progress of *Witchcraft* among us, is all the Plot, which the Devil is managing in the *Witchcraft* now upon us. It is judg'd, That

the Devil Rais'd the Storm, whereof we read in the Eighth Chapter of *Matthew*, on purpose to overſett the little Veſſel, wherein the Diſciples of Our Lord, were Embarqued with Him. And it may be fear'd, that in the *Horrible Tempeſt*, which is now upon ourſelves, the deſign of the Devil is to ſink that Happy ſettlement of Government, wherewith Almighty, God, has graciouſly enclined their Majeſties to favour us. We are bleſſed with a GOVERNOUR, than whom no man can be more willing to ſerve their Majeſties or this their Province: He is continually venturing his *All* to do it: and were not the Intereſts of His Prince, dearer to him, than his own, he could not but ſoon be weary of the *Helm*, whereat he ſits. We are under the Influence of a LIEVTENANT GOVERNOUR, who not only by being admirably accomplished both with Natural and Acquired Endowments, is fitted for the Service of Their Majeſties, but alſo with an unſpotted Fidelity, applys himſelf to that Service. Our COUNCELLOURS, are ſome of our moſt Eminent perſons, and as Loyal Subjects to the Crown, as hearty lovers of their Countrey. Our Conſtitution alſo is attended with ſingular Priviledges; All which Things are by the Devil exceedingly *Envy'd* unto us. And the Devil will doubtleſs take this occaſion, for the Raiſing of ſuch complaints and clamours, as may be of pernicious conſequence, unto ſome part of our preſent Settlement, if he can ſo far *Impoſe*. But that which moſt of all Threatens us, in our preſent Circumſtances, is the *Miſunderſtanding*, and ſo the *Animoſity*, whereinto the *Witchcraft* now Raging, has Enchanted us. The Embroiling, firſt, of our *Spirits*, and then of our *Affayrs*, is evidently, as conſiderable a Branch of the Helliſh Intreague, which now vexes us, as any one Thing whatever. The Devil has made us like a *Troubled Sea*; and the *Mire* and *Mud*, begins now alſo to heave up apace. Even, Good and Wiſe Men,

suffer themselves to fall into their *Paroxysms*; and the Shake which the Devil is now giving us, fetches up the *Dirt* which before lay still, at the Bottom of our sinful Hearts. If we allow the *Mad Dogs* of Hell to poison us by Biting us, we shall imagine that we see nothing but *such Things* about us, and like *such Things* fly upon all that we see. Were it not for what is IN US, for my part, I should not fear a Thousand *Legions* of Devils; 'tis by our *Quarrels* that we spoil our *Prayers*; and if our Humble, Zealous, and United, *Prayers*, are once *Hindred*, alas, the *Philistines* of Hell have cut our Locks for us; they will then blind us, mock us, ruine us. In Truth, I cannot altogether blame it, if people are a little Transported, when they conceive all the Secular Interests of Themselves and their Families, at the Stake; and yet, at the sight of these Heart-Burnings, I cannot forbear the Exclamation of the Sweet-spirited *Austin*, in his Pacificatory Epistle, to *Jerom* on his Contest with *Ruffin*, *O misera et miseranda Conditio!* O Condition, truly *miserable*! But what shall be done to cure these Distractions? It is wonderfully necessary, that some *Healing Attempts*, be made at this time; and *I* must needs confess, if I may speak so much, like a *Nazianzen*, I am so desirous of a share in them, that if, *Being thrown Over-board*, were needful to allay the *Storm*, I should think, *Dying*, a Trifle to be undergone, for so great a Blessedness.

§ 5. I would most importunately in the first place, entreat every man to maintain an Holy Jealousy over his own Soul, at this Time, and think, *May not the Devil make me, tho' ignorantly, & unwillingly, to be an Instrument of doing something that he would have to be done?* For my part I freely own my Suspicion, Lest something of *Enchantment*, have reach'd more Persons and Spirits among us, then we are well aware of. But then, let us more generally Agree to maintain a kind Opinion, one of another. That *Charity* without

without which, even our *Giving our Bodies to be Burned*, would *Profit Nothing*, uſes to proceed by this Rule, *It is kind, it is not eaſily provoked, it is thinks no Evil, it believes all things, hopes all things.* But if we diſregard this Rule, of *Charity*, we ſhall indeed give our *Body Politic to be Burned.* I have heard it affirmed, That in the Late Great Flood upon *Connecticut*, thoſe Creatures which could not but have Quarrelled at another Time, yet now being driven together, very Agreeably ſtood by one another. I am ſure we ſhall be worſe than *Bruitiſh*, if we fly upon one another, at a Time when the *Floods of Belial make us afraid.* On the one *Side*, [alas, my Pen, muſt thou write the word, *Side*, in the Buſineſs?] there are very worthy men, who having been call'd by God, when and where this *Witchcraft*, firſt Appeared upon the Stage, to Encounter it, are earneſtly deſirous to have it Sifted unto the Bottom of it. And, I pray, which of us all, that ſhould live under the continual Impreſſions, of the Tortures, Outcries, and Havocks, which Devils confeſſedly Commiſſioned by *Witches*, make among their diſtreſſed Neighbours, would not have a *Biaſs* that way, beyond other men? Perſons this way diſpoſed, have been men eminent for *Wiſdome* and *Vertue*, and men acted by a noble principle of Conſcience. Had not *Conſcience* of Duty to God, prevailed above other Conſiderations with them, they would not for all they are worth in the world, have meddled in this *Thorny Buſineſs*. Have there been any *Diſputed* Methods uſed, in Diſcovering the *Works of Darkneſs*? It may be none, but what have had *great Precedents* in other parts of the world: which may, tho' not altogether *Juſtifie*, yet much *Alleviate* a miſtake in us, if there ſhould happen to be found any ſuch miſtake, in ſo *Dark* a matter. They have done, what they have done, with multiply'd *Addreſſes* to God, for his guidance

dance, and have not been Insensible how much they have exposed themselves in what they have done. Yea, they would gladly contrive, and receive, an expedient, how the Shedding of Blood, might be spared, by the Recovery of *Witches*, not gone beyond the reach of Pardon. And after all, They invite all Good men, in Terms to this purpose, *Being amazed, at the Number, and Quality of those Accused, of late, we do not know, but Satan, by his Wiles, may have Enwrapped some Innocent persons, and therefore should Earnestly, and Humbly desire, the most Critical Enquiry upon the place, to find out the Fallacy; that there may be none of the Servants of the Lord, with the Worshippers of* Baal. I may also add, That whereas, if once a *Witch* do ingenuously confess among us, no more *Spectres* do in their Shapes after this, Trouble the Vicinage; if any Guilty Creatures will accordingly to so good purpose Confess their Crime to any Minister of God, and get out of the Snare of the Devil, as no Minister will discover such a *Conscientious Confession*, so I believe none in the Authority, will press him to Discover it; but Rejoyce in, *A Soul sav'd from Death*. On the other *Side* [if I must again use the word, *Side*, which yet I hope, to Live, to blot out] there are very worthy men, who are not a Little Dissatisfy'd at the Proceedings in the Prosecution of this *Witchcraft*. And why? Not because they would have any such *Abominable Thing* Defended from the Strokes of Impartial Justice. No, those Reverend Persons who gave in this Advice unto the Honourable Council, 'That *Presumptions*, whereupon 'Persons may be *Committed*, and much more *Convictions*, 'whereupon Persons may be *Condemned*, as Guilty of '*Witchcrafts*, ought certainly to be more Considerable, 'than barely the Accused Persons being represented by 'a *Spectre*, unto the Afflicted; Nor are Alterations

'made

'made in the Sufferers, by a *Look* or *Touch* of the Ac-'cuſed, to be eſteemed an Infallible Evidence of Guilt; 'but frequently Liable to be Abuſed by the Devils *Leger-'demains*': I ſay, Thoſe very men of God, moſt Conſcientiouſly Subjoined this Article, to that Advice, — *Nevertheleſs, we cannot but Humbly Recommend unto the Government, the Speedy and Vigorous Proſecution of ſuch, as have rendred themſelves Obnoxious; according to the beſt Directions given in the Laws of God, and the wholſome Statutes of the Engliſh Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft.* Only, 'Tis a moſt Commendable Cautiouſneſs, in thoſe Gracious men, to be very Shye leſt the Devil get ſo far into our *Faith*, as that for the ſake of many *Truths* which we find he tells us, we come at length, to believe any *Lies*, wherewith he may abuſe us: whereupon, what a Deſolation of *Names* would ſoon enſue, beſides a thouſand other Pernicious Conſequences? and leſt there ſhould be any ſuch *Principles* taken up, as when put into Practice muſt unavoidably cauſe the *Righteous to Periſh with the Wicked*; or procure the Bloodſhed of any Perſons, like the *Gibeonites*, whom ſome Learned men ſuppoſe to be under a falſe Notion of *Witches*, by *Saul* Exterminated. They would have all Due ſteps taken for the Extinction of *Witches*; but they would fain have them to be *Sure* ones: nor is it from any thing, but the Real and Hearty *Goodneſs* of ſuch men, that they are Loth to ſurmiſe *Ill* of other men, till there be the fulleſt Evidence, for the ſurmiſes. As for the Honourable *Judges*, that have been hitherto in the Commiſſion, they are *Above* my Conſideration: wherefore, I will only ſay thus much of them, That ſuch of them as I have the Honour of a Perſonal Acquaintance with, are *Men of an Excellent Spirit*; and as at firſt they went about the work for which they were Commiſſion'd,

with

with a very great Aversion, so they have still been under Heart-breaking Solicitudes, how they might therein best serve, both God and Man. In fine, Have there been Faults on any *Side* fallen into? Surely, They have at worst been but the Faults of a *well-meaning Ignorance*. On every *Side* then, Why should not we Endeavour with Amicable Correspondencies, to help one another out of the *Snares*, wherein the Devil would Involve us? To *Wrangle the Devil*, out of the Country, will be truly a New Experiment! Alas, we are not Aware of the *Devil*, if we do not think, that he aims at Enflaming us one against another; & shall we suffer our selves to be *Devil-Ridden*? or, by any *Unadviseableness*, contribute unto the Widening of our Breaches? To say no more, There is a Published and a Credible Relation, which affirms, That very lately, in a part of *England*, where some of the Neighbourhood were Quarrelling, a RAVEN, from the Top of a Tree very Articulately and Unaccountably cry'd out, *Read the Third to the Colossians, and the Fifteenth!* Were I my self to chuse what sort of *Bird* I would be transformed into, I would say, *O that I had wings like a Dove!* Nevertheless, I will for once do the Office, which as it seems, Heaven sent that *Raven* upon; even to beg, *That the Peace of God may Rule in our Hearts.*

§ 6 'Tis necessary that we *Unite* in every Thing: but there are especially *Two* Things wherein our *Union* must carry us along together. We are to *Unite* in our Endeavours to Deliver our Distressed Neighbours, from the horrible Annoyances and Molestations with which a dreadful *Witchcraft* is now persecuting of them. To have an Hand in any thing, that may stifle or obstruct a Regular Detection of that *Witchcraft*, is what we may well with an Holy Fear, Avoid. Their Majesties good Subjects, must not every day be Torn to pieces, by Horrid *Witch-*

A

Diſcourſe:

ON

The Wonders of the *Inviſible World.*

Uttered (in part) on *Aug.* 4. 1692.

ECcleſiaſtical Hiſtory has Reported it unto us, That a Renowned Martyr at the Stake, ſeeing the Book of THE REVELATION thrown by his no leſs Profane than Bloody Perſecutors, to be Burn'd in the ſame Fire with himſelf, he cry'd out, *O Beata Apocalypſis; quam bene mecum agitur, qui tecum Comburar!* BLESSED REVELATION! ſaid he; *How bleſſed am I in this Fire, while I have Thee to bear me Company.* As for our ſelves this Day, 'tis a *Fire* of ſore Affliction and Confuſion, wherein we are Embroiled; but it is no Inconſiderable Advantage unto us, that we have the Company of this Glorious and Sacred Book, THE REVELATION, to aſſiſt us in our Exerciſes. From *that* Book, there is one Text, which I would ſingle out, at this Time, to lay before you; 'tis that in

Rev. XII. 12.

Wo to the Inhabiters of the Earth, and of the Sea; for the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath; because he knoweth, that he hath but a short time.

THE Text is like the Cloudy and Fiery Pillar, vouchsafed unto *Israel*, in the Wilderness of old; there is a very *dark side* of it, in the Intimation, that, *The Devil is come down having great Wrath*; but it has also a *bright side*, when it assures us, that, *He has but a short time*; Unto the Contemplation of *both*, I do this Day Invite you.

We have in our Hands a Letter from our Ascended Lord in Heaven, to Advise us of his being still alive, and of his Purpose e're long, to give us a Visit, wherein we shall see our Living *Redeemer, stand at the latter day upon the* Earth. 'Tis the last Advice that we have had from Heaven, for now sixteen Hundred years; and the scope of it, is, to represent how the Lord Jesus Christ, having begun to set up his Kingdom in the World by the Preaching of the Gospel, he would from time to time utterly break to pieces all Powers that should make Head against it, until, *The Kingdomes of this World are become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Christ*

Christ, and he shall Reign for ever and ever. 'Tis a Commentary on what had been written by *Daniel*, about, *The Fourth Monarchy*; with some Touches upon, *The Fifth*; wherein, *The greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High:* And altho' it have, as 'tis expressed by one of the Ancients, *Tot Sacramenta, quot verba*, a Mystery in every Syllable, yet it is not altogether to be neglected with such a Despair, as that, *I cannot Read, for the Book is Sealed:* it is a REVELATION, and a singular, and notable *Blessing* is pronounc'd upon them that humbly study it.

The Divine Oracles, have with a most admirable Artifice and Carefulness, drawn, as the very pious *Beverley*, has laboriously Evinced, an exact LINE OF TIME, from the First Sabbath at the *Creation* of the World, unto the great Sabbatism at the *Restitution* of all Things. In that famous *Line of Time*, from the Decree for the Restoring of *Jerusalem*, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, there seem to remain a matter of *Two Thousand and Three Hundred Years*, unto that *New Jerusalem*, whereto the Church is to be advanced, when the Mystical *Babylon* shall be *fallen*. At the Resurrection of our Lord, there were seventeen or eighteen Hundred of those Years, yet upon the Line, to Run unto, *The Rest which Remains for the People of God*; and this Remnant in the *Line of Time*, is here in our *Apocalypse*, variously Embossed, Adorned, and Signalized with such Distinguished Events, if we

mind them, will help us escape that Censure, *Can ye not Discern the Signs of the Times?*

The Apostle *John*, for the View of these Things, had laid before him, as I conceive, a *Book*, with leaves, or folds; which *Volumn* was written both on the *Backside*, & on the *Inside*, & Roll'd up in a Cylindrical Form, under seven *Labels*, fastned with so many *Seals*. The First *Seal* being opened, and the First *Label* removed, under the first *Label* the Apostle saw what he saw, of a first *Rider* Pourtray'd, and so on, till the last *Seal* was broken up; each of the Sculptures being enlarged with Agreeable *Visions* and *Voices*, to Illustrate it. The Book being now Unrolled, there were *Trumpets*, with wonderful Concomitants, Exhibited successively on the Expanding *Backside* of it. Whereupon the Book was *Eaten*, as it were to be Hidden, from Interpretations; till afterwards, in the *Inside* of it, the Kingdom of Antichrist came to be Expoted. Thus, the Judgments of God on the *Roman Empire*, first unto the Downfal of *Paganism*, and then, unto the Downfal of *Popery*, which is but Revived *Paganism*, are in these Displayes with Lively Colours and Features made sensible unto us.

Accordingly, in the Twelfth Chapter of this Book, we have an August Preface, to the Description of that Horrid *Kingdom*, which our Lord Christ refused, but Antichrist accepted, from the Devils Hands; a Kingdom, which for *Twelve Hundred and Sixty* Years together, was to be a continual oppression upon the People of God, and opposition.

opposition unto his Interests; until the Arrival of that Illustrious Day, wherein, *The Kingdom shall be the Lords, and he shall be Governour among the Nations.* The Chapter is (as an Excellent Person calls it) an *Extravasated Account*, of the Circumstances, which befel the *Primitive Church*, during the first Four or Five Hundred Years of Christianity: it shows us the Face of the Church, first in *Rome* Heathenish, and then in *Rome* Converted, before the *Man of Sin* was yet come to *Mans Estate.* Our Text contains the Acclamations made upon the most Glorious Revolution that ever yet happened upon the Roman Empire; namely, *That* wherein the Travailing Church brought forth a Christian Emperour. This was a most Eminent *Victory* over the Devil, and *Resemblance* of the State, wherein the World, ere long shall see, *The Kingdom of our God, and the Power of His Christ.* It is here noted.

First, As a matter of *Triumph.* 'Tis said, *Rejoice, ye Heavens, and ye that dwell in them.* The Saints in both Worlds, took the Comfort of this Revolution; the Devout Ones that had outlived the late Persecutions, were filled with Transporting Joyes, when they saw the *Christian* become the *Imperial* Religion, and when they saw Good Men come to give Law unto the rest of Mankind; the Deceas'd Ones also, whose Blood had been Sacrificed in the Ten Persecutions, doubtless made the Light Regions to ring with *Hallelujahs* unto God, when there were brought

unto

unto them, the Tidings of the Advances now given to the *Chriſtian* Religion, for which they had ſuffered *Martyrdom*.

Secondly, As a matter of *Horror*. 'Tis ſaid, *Wo to the Inhabiters of the Earth and of the Sea.* The *Earth* ſtill means the *Falſe Church*, the *Sea* means the *Wide World*, in Prophetical Phraſæology. There was yet left a vaſt party of men that were Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion, in the power of it; a vaſt party left for the *Devil* to work upon: unto theſe is, a *Wo* denounced; and why ſo? 'tis added, *For the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath, becauſe he knows, that he has but a ſhort time.* Theſe were it ſeems to have ſome deſperate and peculiar Attempts of the Devil, made upon them. In the mean time, we may Entertain this for our

DOCTRINE.

Great WO proceeds from the Great WRATH, *with which the* DEVIL, *towards the End of his* TIME, *will make a* DESCENT *upon a miſerable World.*

I have now Publiſhed a moſt awful and ſolemn Warning for our ſelves at this day; which has four *Propoſitions*, comprehended in it.

Propoſition I.

That there is a *Devil*, is a Thing Doubted by none but ſuch as are under the Influence of the

Devil

Devil. For any to Deny the Being of a *Devil* must be from an Ignorance or Profaneneſs, worſe than *Diabolical. A Devil!* What is *that?* We have a Definition of the Monſter, in *Eph.* 6. 12. *A Spiritual Wickedneſs*, that is, *A wicked Spirit.* A Devil is a *Fallen Angel*, an Angel *Fallen* from the Fear and Love of God, and from all Celeſtial Glories; but *Fallen* to all manner of Wretchedneſs and Curſedneſs. He was once in that Order of Heavenly Creatures, which God in the Beginning made *Miniſtring Spirits*, for his own peculiar Service and Honour, in the management of the Univerſe; but we may now write that Epitaph upon him, *How art thou fallen from Heaven! thou haſt ſaid in thine Heart, I will Exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; but thou art brought down to Hell!* A Devil is a *Spiritual* and a *Rational* Subſtance, by his *Apoſtaſy* from God, Inclined unto all that is Vicious, and for that *Apoſtaſy* confin'd unto the Atmoſphere of this Earth; *in Chains under Darkneſs, unto the Judgment of the Great Day.* This is a *Devil*; and the *Experience* of Mankind as well as the *Teſtimony* of Scripture, does abundantly prove the Exiſtence of ſuch a Devil.

About this *Devil*, there are many Things, whereof we may reaſonably and profitably be Inquiſitive; ſuch things, I mean, as are in our Bibles Reveal'd unto us; according to which if we do not ſpeak, on ſo *Dark* a Subject, but according to our own uncertain, and perhaps humourſome Conjectures, *There is no Light in us.* I will carry you with

with me, but unto one Paragraph of the Bible, to be informed of three Things, relating to the *Devil*; 'tis the Story of the *Gadaren Energumen*, in the fifth Chapter of *Mark*.

First, then; 'Tis to be granted; The *Devils* are ſo many, that ſome *Thouſands*, can ſometimes at once apply themſelves to vex *one* Child of Man. It is ſaid, in Marc. 5. 15. *He that was Poſſeſſed with the Devil, had the Legion.* Dreadful to be ſpoken! A *Legion* conſiſted of Twelve Thouſand Five Hundred people: and we ſee that in one man or two, ſo many *Devils* can be ſpared for a Garriſon. As the Prophet cry'd out, *Multitudes, Multitudes, in the Valley of Deciſion!* So I ſay, *There are multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of Deſtruction, where the Devils are!* When we ſpeak of, *The Devil*, 'tis, *A Name of Multitude*; it means not *One* Individual Devil, ſo Potent and Scient, as perhaps a *Man chee* would imagine; but it means a *Kind*, which a *Multitude* belongs unto. Alas, The *Devils*, they ſwarm about us, like the *Frogs of Egypt*, in the moſt Retired of our Chambers Are we at our *Boards*? There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Senſuality: Are we in our *Beds*? There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Carnality; Are we in our *Shops*? There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Diſhoneſty. Yea, Tho' we get into the Church of God, there will be Devils to Haunt us in the very *Temple* it ſelf, and there Tempt us to manifold Misbehaviours. I am verily perſwaded, That there are very few Humane Affayrs, whereinto

ſome

some Devils are not Insinuated; There is not so much as a *Journey* intended, but *Satan* will have an Hand in *Hindering* or *Furthering* of it.

Secondly, 'Tis to be supposed, That there is a sort of Arbitrary, even Military *Government*, among the *Devils*. This is intimated, when in *Mar.* 5. 9. *The Unclean Spirit said, My Name is Legion*: they are under such a Discipline as *Legions* use to be. Hence we read about, *The Prince of the Power of the Air*: Our *Air* has a *Power!* or an Army, of Devils in the *High Places* of it; and these *Devils* have a *Prince* over them, who is, *King over the Children of Pride*. 'Tis probable, That the *Devil*, who was the Ring-leader of that mutinous and rebellious Crew, which first shook off the Authority of God, is now the General of those Hellish Armies; Our Lord, that Conquer'd him, has told us the Name of him; 'tis *Belzebub*; 'tis he that is, *the Devil*, and the rest are, *his Angels*, or his Souldiers. Think on, vast Regiments, of cruel, and bloody French *Dragoons*, with an *Intendant* over them, over-running a pillaged Neighbourhood, and you will think a little, what the Constitution among the *Devils* is.

Thirdly, Tis to be supposed, That some *Divels* are more peculiarly *Commission'd*, and perhaps *Qualify'd*, for some Countreys, while others are for others. This is intimated when in *Mar.* 5. 10. The Devils *besought* Our Lord, *Much, that he would not send them away out of the Countrey*. Why was that? But in all probability, Because *These Divels* were

were more Able, to, *Do the Works of the Divel*, in ſuch a Countrey, than in another. It is not likely that every Divel do's know every *Language*; or that every Divel can do every *Miſchief*. 'Tis poſſible that the *Experience*, or, if I may call it ſo, the *Education*, of all Divels, is not alike, and that there may be ſome Difference in their *Abilities*. If one might make an Inference from what the Divels *Do*, to what they *are*, One cannot forbear Dreaming, that there are *Degrees* of Divels. Who can allow that ſuch Trifling *Dæmons*, as that of *Mascon*, or thoſe that once infeſted our *New berry*, are of ſo much Grandeur, as thoſe *Dæmons*, whoſe Games are mighty Kingdomes? Yea, 'Tis Certain, that all Divels do not make a like Figure, in the *Inviſible World*. Nor do's it look agreeably, That the *Dæmons*, which were the Familiars of ſuch a Man as the Old *Apollonius*, differ not from thoſe Baſer Goblins that chuſe to Neſt in the filthy and loathſome Rags, of a Beaſtly Sorcereſs. Accordingly, why may not ſome Divels, be more Accompliſhed for what is to be done in ſuch and ſuch places: when others muſt be *Detached* for other Territories? Each Divel as he ſees his advantage, Cries out, *Let me be in this Countrey, rather than another.* But *Enough*, if not *Too much*, of theſe Things.

Propoſition II.

There is a Divelliſh *Wrath* againſt *Mankind*, with which the *Divel* is, for *Gods Sake* Inſpired. The Devil

Divel is Himself broiling under the intollerable and interminable *Wrath* of God; and a fiery *Wrath* at God, is that with which the Divel is for that cause Enflamed. Methinks I see the posture of the Divels in *Isa.* 8. 21. *They fret themselves, and Curse their God, and look upward.* The first and chief *Wrath* of the Divel, is at the Almighty God Himself; He knows, *The God that made him, will not have mercy on him, and the God that formed him, will shew him no favour*; and so he can have no *Kindness* for that God, who has no *Mercy*, nor *Favour* for him. Hence 'tis, that he cannot bear the *Name* of God should be Acknowledged in the World; Every Acknowledgment paid unto *God*, is a fresh Drop of Burning Brimstone falling upon the Divel; He do's make his Insolent, tho' Impotent Batteries, even upon the *Throne* of God Himself: and foolishly affects to have himself exalted unto that *Glorious High Throne*, by all people, as he sometimes is, by Execrable *Witches*. This horrible Dragon do's not only with his Tayl strike at the *Stars of God*, but at the *God* Himself, who made the *Stars*, being desirous to outshine them all. God and the Divel are sworn Enemies to each other; the Terms between them, are those, in Zech. 11. 18. *My Soul Loathed them, and their Soul also Abhorred me.* And from this Furious *Wrath*, or Displeasure and Prejudice at God, proceeds the Divels *Wrath* at us, the poor Children of Men. Our doing the *Service* of God, is one thing that Exposes us to the *Wrath* of the Divel.

We

We are the *High-Prieſts* of the World; when all Creatures are call'd upon, *Praiſe ye the Lord*, they bring to us thoſe demanded *Praiſes* of God, ſaying, *Do you Offer them for us.* Hence 'tis, that the Divel has a a Quarrel with us, as he had with the *High-Prieſt* in the Viſion of Old. Our bearing the *Image* of God, is another thing that brings the *Wrath* of the Divel upon us. As a *Tygre*, thro' his Hatred at a man, will tear the very Picture of him, if it come in his way; ſuch a *Tygre* the Devil is; becauſe God ſaid of old, *Let us make Man in our Image*, the Devil is ever ſaying, *Let us pull this man to pieces.* But the envious *Pride* of the Devil, is one thing more that gives an Edge unto his Furious *Wrath* againſt us. The Apoſtle has given us an hint, as if *Pride* had been the *Condemnation of the Devil.* 'Tis not unlikely, that the Devils *Affectation* to be above that Condition which he might learn that Mankind was to be preferr'd unto, might be the occaſion of his takihg up Arms againſt the *Immortal King.* However, the Devil now ſees *Man* lying in the Boſome of God, but *Himſelf* damned in the Bottom of Hell; and this Enrages him exceedingly; O, ſays he, *I cannot bear it, that man ſhould not be as miſerable as myſelf.*

Propoſition III.

The *Devil*, in the proſecution, & for the execution, of His *wrath* upon them, often getts a *Liberty* to make a *Deſcent* upon the Children of men. When the

the Devil *does Hurt* unto us, he *Comes Down* unto us; for the Randezvouze of the *Infernal Troops*, is indeed in the *Supernal Parts* of our Air. But as tis said, *A sparrow of the Air does not fall down without the will of God*; so I may say, *Not a Devil in the Air, can come down without the leave of God.* Of this we have a famous Instance in that Arabian Prince, of whom the Devil was unable so much as to *Touch* any thing, till the most High God gave him a permission, to *go down.* The Divel stands with all the Instruments of Death, aiming at us, and begging of the Lord, as that King ask'd for the Hood-wink'd *Syrians* of old, *Shall I Smite 'em, shall I Smite 'em?* He cannot strike a Blow, till the Lord say, *Go down and smite*, but sometimes He *does* obtain from the *High Possessor of Heaven and Earth*, a License for the doing of it. The Divel sometimes does make most ruesul Havock among us; but still we may say to him, as our Lord said unto a great servant of his, *Thou couldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above.* The Divel is called in 1 *pet.* 5.8. *your Adversary.* Tis a Law-term; and it notes, *An Adversary at Law.* The Divel cannot come at us, except in some sence according to *Law*; but sometimes he does procure sad things to be inflicted, according to that *Law* of the eternal King, upon us. The Divel First *Goes up* as an *Accuser* against us: He is therefore styled *The Accuser*; and it is on this account, that his proper Name, does belong unto him. There is a Court somewhere kept; a Court of Spirits, where the Divel enters all sorts of Complaints against us

all

all; he charges us with manifold *ſins* againſt the Lord our God: *There* he loads us with heavy *Imputations*, of Hypocriſy, Iniquity, Diſobedience; where upon he urges, *Lord, let 'em now have the Death, which is their Wages, paid unto 'em!* If our *Advocate* in the Heavens do not now take off his Libels, the Devil then with a Conceſſion of God, *Comes down*, as a *Deſtroyer* upon us. Having firſt been an *Attorney*, to beſpeak that the Judgments of Heaven may be Ordered for us, he then alſo pleads that he may be the *Executioner* of thoſe Judgments; and the God of Heaven ſometimes after a ſort ſigns a Warrant, for this *Deſtroying Angel*, to do what has bin *deſired* to be done for the *Deſtroying of men*. But ſuch a *Permiſſion* from God, for the Divel to *Come down*, and *Break in* upon mankind, oftentimes muſt be Accompanyed with a *Commiſſion* from ſome wretches of mankind it ſelf. Every man is, as 'tis hinted in *Gen.* 4 9. *His Brothers Keeper*. We are to *keep* one another from the Incroas of the Divel, by mutual and Cordial Wiſhes of proſperity to one another. When ungodly people, give their *Conſents* in *witchcrafts* diabolically performed, for the Divel to annoy their Neighbours, he finds a Breach made in the Hedge about us, whereat the Ruſhes in upon us, with grievous moleſtations. Yea, when Impious people, that never ſaw the Divel, do but utter their *Curſes* againſt their Neighbours, thoſe are ſo many *Watch words* whereby the Malices of Hell are animated preſently to fall upon us. 'Tis thus, that the Devil gets *Leave* to worry us.

Propo-

Proposition IV.

Most Horrible *Woes* come to be inflicted upon Mankind, when the *Divel* do's in *Great Wrath*, make a *Descent* upon them. The *Divel*, is a *Do-Evil*, and wholly set upon mischief. When Our Lord once was going to *Muzzel* him, that he might not mischief others, he cry'd out, *Art thou come to Torment me?* He is, it seems, himself *Tormented*, if he be but *Restrained* from the Tormenting of Men. If upon the Sounding of the Three last *Apocalyptical Angels*, it was an outcry made in Heaven, *Wo, Wo, Wo, to the inhabitants of the Earth by reason of the voice of the Trumpet.* I am sure, a *Descent* made by the Angel of *Death*, would give cause for the like Exclamation: *Wo to the World, by reason of the Wrath of the Divel!* What a *Woful* plight, Mankind would by the Descent of the Divel, be brought into, may be gathered from the *Woful* pains, and wounds, and hideous desolations, which the Divel brings upon them, of whom he has with a *Bodily Possession* made a Siezure. You may both in Sacred and Profane History, read many a direful Account of the *Woes*, which they, that are possessed by the Divel, do undergo: And from thence conclude, *What must the Children of Men, hope from such a Divel!* Moreover the *Tyrannical Ceremonies*, whereto the Divel uses to subjugate such *Woful* Nations or Orders of men, as are more Entirely under his Dominion, do declare what *Woful* Work, the Divel would make where he comes.

comes. The very Devotions of those forlorn Pagans, to whom the Divel is a Leader, are most bloody *Penances*: and what *VVoes* indeed must we expect from such a Divel of a *Moloch*, as relishes no Sacrifices like those of Humane Heart-Blood, and unto whom there is no musick like the bitter, dying, doleful Groans, ejulated by the Roasting Children of men.

Furthermore, the Servile, Abject, Needy Circumstances wherein the Devil keeps the Slaves, that are under his more sensible Vassallage, do suggest unto us, How *woful* the Devil would render all of our Lives. We that live in a Province, which affords unto us, all that may be Necessary or Comfortable for us, found the Province fill'd with vast Herds of Salvages, that never saw so much as a *Knife*, or a *Nail*, or a *Board*, or a Grain of *Salt*, in all their dayes. No better would the Devil have the World provided for! Nor should we, or any else, have one convenient Thing about us; but be as Indigent as usually our most Ragged *VVitches* are; if the Devils Malice were not over-ruled by a Compassionate God, *Who Preserves Man and Beast*. Hence tis, That the Devil, even like a *Dragon*, keeping a Guard upon such *Fruits* as would Refresh a Languishing World, has hindred Mankind for many Ages, from hitting upon those useful *Inventions*, which yet were so *Obvious* and *Facil*, that it is every bodies wonder, they were no sooner hit upon. The Bemisted World, must jog on for Thousands of Years, without the knowledge of the *Loadstone*, till a *Neapolitan* stumbled upon it, about Three Hun-

dred years ago. Nor must the world be bleſt with ſuch a matchleſs Engine of Learning and Vertue, as that of, *Printing*, till about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. Nor could one Old Man all over the Face of the whole Earth, have the benefit of ſuch a *Little*, tho' moſt *Needful*, Thing, as a pair of Spectacles, till a Dutch-Man, a little while ago accommodated us.

Indeed, as the Divel do's begrutch us all manner of *Good*, ſo he do's Annoy us with all manner of *Vvo*, as often as he finds himſelf capable of doing it. But ſhall vve mention ſome of the ſpecial *woes* with which the Divel do's uſually infeſt the World? Breefly then; *Plagues* are ſome of thoſe *woes*, with which the Divel troubles us. It is ſaid of the *Iſraelites*, in 1. Cor. 10. 10 *They were deſtroyed of the deſtroyer*. That is, they had the *Plague* among them. 'Tis the *Deſtroyer*, or the Divel, that ſcatters *Plagues* about the World: Peſtilential and Contagious Diſeaſes, 'tis the Divel, who do's oftentimes Invade us with them. 'Tis no uneaſy thing, for the Divel, to impregnate the Air about us, with ſuch Malignant *Salts*, as meeting with the *Salt* of our *Microcoſm*, ſhall immediately caſt us into that Fermentation and Putrefaction, which will utterly diſſolve all the Vital Tyes within us; Ev'n as an *Aqua-Fortis*, made with a conjunction of *Nitre* and *Vitriol*, Corrodes what it Siezes upon. And when the Divel has raiſed thoſe *Arſenical Fumes*, which become *Veneinous Quivers* full of *Terrible Arrows*, how eaſily can he ſhoot the deleterious *Miaſms* into thoſe

thoſe Juices or Bowels of Mens Bodies, which will ſoon Enflame them with a Mortal Fire! Hence come ſuch *Plagues*, as that *Beeſome of Deſtruction* which within our memory ſwept away ſuch a Throng of people from One Engliſh City in one Viſitation: and hence thoſe Infectious Feavers, which are but ſo many *Diſguiſed Plagues* among us, Cauſing Epidemical Deſolations. Again, *Wars* are alſo ſome of thoſe *VVoes*, with which the *Divel* cauſes our Trouble. It is ſaid in Rev. 12. 17. *The Dragon was wroth, and went to make war*: And there is in Truth, ſcarce any *VVar*, but what is of the *Dragons* kindling. The *Divel* is that *Vulcan*, out of whoſe Forge come the inſtruments of our *VVars*, and it is he that finds us Employments for thoſe Inſtruments. We read concerning *Dæmoniacks*, or people in whom the *Devil* was, that they would cut and wound themſelves; and ſo, when the *Devil* is in Men, he puts 'em upon dealing in that barbarous faſhion with one another. *VVars* do often furniſh him with ſome Thouſands of Souls in one Morning from one Acre of Ground; and for the ſake of ſuch *Thyeſtæan* Banquets, he will puſh us upon as many *VVars* as he can.

Once more, why may not *Storms* be rekoned among thoſe *VVoes*, wiſh which the Devil do's diſturb us? It is not improbable, that *Natural Storms* on the World, are often of the Devils raiſing. We are told in Job. 1. 11. 12, 19. that the *Devil* made a *Storm*, which Hurricano'd the Houſe of *Job*, upon the Heads of them that were feaſting in it.

Par-

Paracelsus could have informed the Devil, if he had not been informed, as be sure he was before, That if much *Aluminious* matter, with *Salt-Peter* not throughly prepared, be mixed, they will send up a cloud of Smoke, which will come down in Rain. But undoubtedly the *Devil* understands as well the way to make a *Tempest*, as to turn the *Winds* at the Solicitation of a *Laplander*; Whence perhaps it is, that Thunders are observed oftner to break upon *Churches*, than upon any other *Buildings*; and besides many a *Man*, yea many a *Ship*, yea many a *Town* has miscarried, when the *Devil* ha's been permitted from above to make an *Horrible tempest*. However that the *Devil* has raised many Metaphorical *Storms* upon the Church, is a thing, than which there is nothing more notorious. It was said unto Believers, in Rev. 2. 10. *The Devil shall cast some of you into Prison.* The *Devil* was he that at first led *Cain* upon *Abel*, to butcher him, as the Apostle seems to suggest, for his Faith in God, as a *Reward*. And, in how many *Persecutions*, as well as *Heresies*, has the Devil been ever since Engaging all the Children of *Cain*! That *Serpent* the Devil ha's acted his cursed *Seed*, in unwearied Endeavours to have them, *Of whom the World is not worthy*, treated as those who are, *Not Worthy to live in the World*. By the Impulse of the Devil, tis that first the old *Heathens*, and then the mad *Arians*, were *Pricking Briars*, to the true Servants of God; and that the *Papists* that came after them, have out-done them all, for Slaughters, upon those that have been Accoun-

ted as the ſheep for the Slaughters. The late *French Perſecution*, is perhaps the Horribleſt that ever was in the World: and as the Devil of *Maſcon* ſeems before to have meant it, in his outcries, upon, *The miſeries preparing for the poor Huguenots!* thus it has been all acted, by a ſingular Fury of the old Dragon inſpiring of his Emiſſaries.

But in reality, *Spiritual Woes*, are the *Principal Woes*, among all thoſe that the Devil would have us undone withal. *Sins* are the worſt of *Woes*; and the Devil ſeeks nothing ſo much, as to plunge us into *Sins*. When men do commit a Crime for which they are to be Indicted, they are uſually, *Moved by the Inſtigation of the Devil.* The Devil will put *ill Men* upon being *worſe*. Was it not *he*, that ſaid in 1 *King* 22. 22. *I will go forth, and be a Lying Spirit in the Mouth of all the Prophets?* Even ſo, the Devil becomes an *Unclean* Spirit, a *Drinking* Spirit, a *Swearing* Spirit, a *Worldly* Spirit, a *Paſſionate* Spirit, a *Revengful* Spirit, and the like, in the Hearts of thoſe that are already too much of ſuch a Spirit; and thus, they become Improv'd in Sinfulneſs. Yea, the Devil will put *Good Men* upon doing *ill*. Thus we read, in 1 *Chron.* 21. 1. *Satan provoked David to Number Iſrael.* And ſo, the Devil *provokes* men that are Eminent in Holineſs, unto ſuch Things as may become eminently pernicious; he *provokes* them eſpecially unto *Pride*, and unto many unſuitable Emulations. There are likewiſe moſt lamentable Impreſſions, which the Devil makes upon the *Souls* of men, by way of puniſhment

ment upon them for their *Sins*. 'Tis thus, when an Offended God, puts the *Souls* of men over into the Hands of that Officer, *Who has the Power of Death, that is, the Devil.* It is the woful misery of Unbelievers, in 2 Cor. 4. 4. *The God of this World has blinded their minds.* And thus it may be said of those Woful Wretches, whom the *Devil* is a God unto, *The Devil so Muffles them, that they cannot see the things of their Peace.* And, *The Devil so Hardens them, that nothing will awaken their cares about their Souls:* How come so many to be *Seared* in their Sins? 'Tis the Devil, that with a Red Hot Iron fetch't from his Hell, does *cauterise* them. Thus 'tis, till perhaps at last they come to have a *Wounded Conscience* in them, and the Devil has often a share in their Torturing and Confounding Anguishes. The *Devil* who Terrify'd *Cain*, and *Saul*, and *Judas*, into Desperation, still becomes a *King of Terrors*, to many Sinners, and frights them from laying hold on the Mercy of God in the Lord Jesus Christ. In these regards, *Wo to us, when the Devil comes down upon us.*

Proposition V.

Toward the *End* of his *Time* the *Descent* of the *Devil* in *Wrath* upon the World, will produce more *woful Effects*, than what have been in *Former Ages.* The *Dying* Dragon, will bite more Cruelly, & sting more Bloodily than ever he did before. The *Death-pangs* of the Devil will make him to be more

of

of a *Devil* than ever he was; and the Furnace of this *Nebuchadnezzar* will be heated *ſeven times* hotter, juſt before its putting out.

We are in the firſt place, to Apprehend, That there is a *Time* fixed and ſtated by God, for the Devil to enjoy a Dominion over our *ſinful* and therefore *woful* World. The *Devil* once Exclaimed, in Mat. 8. 29. *Jeſus, thou Son of God, art thou come hither to Torment us before our Time?* It is plain, That until the *Second* Coming of our Lord, the *Devil* muſt have a *Time* of plaguing the World, which he was afraid, would have Expired at His *Firſt*. The Devil is, *By the wrath of God, the Prince of this World*; and the *Time* of his Reign, is to continue until the *Time*, when our Lord Himſelf, ſhall, *Take to Himſelf, his great Power and Reign.* Then 'tis that the Devil ſhall hear the Son of God, ſwearing with loud Thunders againſt him, *Thy Time ſhall now be no more!* Then ſhall the Devil with his Angels, receive their Doom, which will be, *Depart into the Everlaſting Fire prepared for you.*

We are alſo to Apprehend, that in the *mean time*, the Divel can give a ſhrowd gueſs, when he drawes near to the *End of his Time.* When he ſaw Chriſtianity enthron'd among the *Romans*, it is here ſaid, in our *Rev*, 12 12, *He knows he hath but a ſhort time.* And how does he *know* it? Why, *Reaſon* will make the Divel to *know* that God won't ſuffer him to have *the Everlaſting Dominion*; & that when God has once begun to reſcue the world out of his hands.

He'l

Hee'l go through with it, until *The Captives of the mighty shall be taken away and the prey of the Terrible shall be delivered.* But the Divel will have *Scripture* also, to make him *Know* that when his Antichristian *Vicar* the *seven headed Beast* on the *seven-hilled* City, shall have spent his determined years, *he* with his *Vicar* must unavoidably go down into the *Bottomless Pitt.* It is not Improbable, that the Divel often hears the *Scripture* expounded in our congregations; yea that we never Assemble without a *Satan* among us. As there are some Divines, who do with more uncertainty conjecture, from a certain Place in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, That the Angels do some times come into our Churches, to gain some Advantage from our Ministry. But be sure our *Demonstrable Interpretations*, may give Repeated Notices to the Divel, *That his time is almost out*: and what the preacher says unto the *Young Man*, *Know thou, that God will bring thee into Judgment!* THAT may our Sermons tell unto that *Old Wretch*, *Know thou, that the time of thy Judgment is at hand*;

But we must now, likewise, Apprehend, that in *such a time*, the *Woes* of the world, will be heightened, beyond what they were at *any Time* yet from the foundation of the world. Hence tis, that the Apostle has forewarned us, in 2. *Tim.* 3. 1. *this know, that in the last days, perillous times shall come.* Truly, when the Divel *knows*, that he is got into his *Last days*, he will make *Perillous Times* for us; the times will grow more full of *Divels*, and therefore more full of *Perils*, than ever they were before. Of this if we

would

would *Know*, what cause is to be assigned; It is not only, because the *Divel* growes more *Able* and more *Eager* to Vex the world; but also, and cheefly, Because the world is more *worthy* to be Vexed by the *Divel*, than ever heretofore. The *Sins* of men in this Generation, will be more *mighty Sins*, than those of the Former Ages; men will be more Accurate & Exquisite, & Refined in the Arts of *Sinning*, than they use to be. And besides, their own sins, the sins of all the Former Ages will also lie upon the sinners of this generation. Do we ask why the *mischievous powers of darkness* are to prevail more in our days, than they did in those that are past & gone! Tis because that men by sinning over again the sins of the Former days, have a *Fellowship with all those unfruitful works of darkness*. As 'twas said in *Math.* 23. 36. *All these things shall come upon this generation*; so, the men of the *Last generation*, will find themselves involved in the guilt of all that went before them. Of Sinners tis said, *They Heap up Wrath*; and the sinners of the *Last generations* do not only add unto the *Heap* of sin that has been pileing up, ever since the Fall of man, but they Interest themselves in every sin of that enormous Heap. There has been a *Cry* of sin in all Former Ages going up to God, *That the Divel may come down*! and the sinners of the *Last generations*, do sharpen and louden that *cry*, till the thing do come to pass, as Destructively as Irremediably. From whence it follows, that the Thrice Holy God, with His Holy Angels, will now after a sort more *Abandon* the World, than in the former Ages. The Roaring Impieties of the *Old World*,

at

at last gave Mankind such a Distast in the Heart of the Just God, that he came to say, *It Repents me, that I have made such a Creature*! And however, it may be but a witty Fancy, in a Late Learned Writer, that the *Earth* before the Flood was nearer to the *Sun*, than it is at this Day; and that Gods Hurling down the *Earth* to a further Distance from the *Sun*, were the cause of that Flood; yet we may fitly enough say, that men perished by a *Rejection* from the God of Heaven. Thus, the Enhanc'd Impieties of this *our World*, will Exasperate the Displeasure of God, at such a rate, as that he will more *Cast us off*, than heretofore; until at last, He do with a more than ordinary Indignation say, *Go Devils; do you take them, and make them beyond all former measures miserable*!

If Lastly, We are inquisitive after Instances of those Aggravated *Woes*, with which the Devil will towards the *End* of his *Time* assault us; Let it be Remembred, That all the Extremities which were foretold by the *Trumpets* and the *Vials* in the Apocalyptic Schemes of these things, to come upon the world, were the *woes* to come from the *wrath* of the Divel, upon the *shortning* of his *Time*. The horrendous desolations that have come upon mankind, by the Irruptions of the old *Barbarians* upon the Roman World, and then of the *Saracens*, and since, of the *Turks*, were such *woes*, as men had never seen before. The Infandous *Blindness* and *Vileness* which then came upon mankind, and the Monstrous *Croisadoes* which thereupon carried the Roman world by the Millions

Millions together unto the ſhambles, were alſo ſuch *woes* as had never yet had a Parallel. And yet theſe were ſome of the things here intended, when it was ſaid, *wo! For the Divel is come down in Great wrath, having but a ſhort Time.*

But beſides all theſe things, and beſides the Increaſe of *Plagues* & *Wars*, and *Storms*, and *Internal Maladies* now in our days, there are eſpecially two moſt extraordinary *Woes*, one would fear, will in theſe days become very ordinary. One *Woe* that may be look'd for is, A frequent Repetition of *Earthquakes*, and this perhaps by the energy of the Divel in the *Earth*. The Divel will be clap't up, as a Priſoner in or near the Bowels of the earth, when once that *Conflagration* ſhall be diſpatch'd, which will make, *The New Earth wherein ſhall dwell Righteouſneſs*; and that *Conflagration* will doubtleſs be much promoted, by the Subterraneous *Fires*, which are a cauſe of the *Earthquakes* in our Dayes. Accordingly, we read, *Great Earthquakes in divers places*, enumerated among the Tokens of the *Time* approaching, when the Devil ſhall have no longer *Time*. I ſuſpect, That we ſhall now be viſited with more Uſual, and yet more Fatal *Earthquakes*, than were our Anceſtors; inaſmuch as the *Fires* that are ſhortly to, *Burn unto the Loweſt Hell, and ſet on Fire the Foundations of the Mountains*, will now get more Head than they uſe to do; and it is not impoſſible, that the Devil, who is e're long to be puniſhed in thoſe *Fires*, may aforehand augment his Deſert of it, by having an hand in

uſing

using ſome of thoſe *Fires*, for our Detriment. Learned Men have made no ſcruple to charge the Devil with it; *Deo permittente, Terræmotus cauſat.* The Devil ſurely, was a party in the *Earthquake*, whereby the Vengeance of God, in one black Night ſunk Twelve conſiderable Cities of *Aſia*, in the Reign of *Tiberius*. But there will be more ſuch *Cataſtrophe's* in our Dayes! *Italy* has lately been *Shaking*, till its *Earthquakes* have brought Ruines at once upon more than thirty Towns; but it will within a little while, *ſhake* again, and *ſhake* till the Fire of God have made an Entire *Etna* of it. And behold, This very Morning, when I was intending to utter among you ſuch Things as theſe, we are caſt into an *Heartquake* by Tidings of an *Earthquake* that has lately happened at *Jamaica*: an horrible *Earthquake*, whereby the *Tyrus* of the Engliſh *America*, was at once pull'd into the Jawes of the Gaping and Groaning Earth, and many Hundreds of the Inhabitants buried alive. The Lord ſanctifie ſo diſmal a Diſpenſation of his Providence, unto all the *American* Plantations! But be aſſured, my Neighbours, the *Earthquakes* are not over yet! We have not yet ſeen *the Laſt*. And then, Another *Wo* that may be Look'd for is, The Devils being now let Looſe in *preternatural Operations* more than formerly; & perhaps in *Poſſeſſions* & *Obſeſſions* that ſhall be very marvellous. You are not Ignorant, That juſt before our Lords *Firſt Coming*, there were moſt obſervable Outrages committed by the Devil upon the Children of Men:

And

And I am ſuſpicious, That there will again be an unuſual Range of the Devil among us, a little before the *Second Coming* of our Lord, which will be, to give the laſt ſtroke in, *Deſtroying the Works of the Devil.* The *Evening Wolves* will be much abroad, when we are near the *Evening* of the World. The Devil is going to be Diſlodged of the *Air*, where his preſent Quarters are; God will with flaſhes of hot *Lightning* upon him, cauſe him to *fall as Lightning* from his Ancient Habitations: And the *Raiſed Saints* will there have a *New Heaven*, which, *We expect according to the Promiſe of God.* Now, a little before this thing, you'l be like to ſee the Devil, more *ſenſibly* and *viſibly* Buſy upon *Earth* perhaps, than ever he was before: You ſhall oftner hear about *Apparitions* of the Devil, and about poor people ſtrangely Bewitched, *Poſſeſſed* and *Obſeſſed*, by Infernal Fiends. When our Lord is going to ſet up His Kingdom, in the moſt *ſenſible* and *viſible* manner that ever was, and in a manner anſwering the *Tranſfiguration* in the Mount, it is a thouſand to one, but the Devil will in ſundry parts of the World, aſſay the like for Himſelf, with a moſt Apiſh Imitation: and Men, at leaſt in *ſome* Corners of the World, and perhaps in *ſuch* as God may have ſome ſpecial Deſigns upon, will to their Coſt, be more Familiarized with the *World of Spirits* than they had been formerly.

So that, in fine, if juſt before the *End* when the *Times of the Jews* were to be finiſhed, a man then ran about every where, crying, *Woe to the Nation! Woe*

to

to the City! Wo to the Temple! Wo! Wo! Wo! Much more may the descent of the Devil, just before his *End*, when also the *Times of the Gentiles* will be finished, cause us to cry out, *Wo! Wo! Wo! because of the Black things that Threaten us!*

But it is now Time to make our Improvement of what has been said. And, first, we shall entertain ourselves with a few *Corollaries*; deduced from what has been thus asserted.

Corollary I.

What cause have we to bless God, for our preservation from the *Devils wrath*, in this which may too reasonably be call'd the *Devils World*! While we are in, *this present evil world*, We are continually surrounded with swarms of those Devils, who make this *present world*, become so *evil*. What a wonder of Mercy is it, that no *Devil* could ever yet make a prey of us! We can set our foot no where but we shall tread in the midst of most Hellish *Rattle-Snakes*; and one of those *Rattle-Snakes* once thro' the mouth of a Man on whom he had Siezed, hissed out such a Truth as this, *If God would let me loose upon you, I should find enough in the Best of you all, to make you all mine.* What shall I say? The *Wilderness* thro' which we are passing to the *Promised Land*, is all over fill'd with, *Fiery flying Serpents.* But blessed be God; None of them have hitherto so fastned upon us, as to confound us utterly! All our way to Heaven, lies by the *Dens of Lions*,

Lions, and the *Mounts of Leopards*; there are incredible Droves of Divels in our way. But have we safely got on our way thus far? O let us be thankful to our Eternal preserver for it. It is said in, Psal. 76. 10. *Surely the wrath of Man shall praise thee, and the Remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.* But *surely* It becomes us to praise God, in that we have yet sustain'd no more Damage by the *wrath of the Devil*, and in that he has restrain'd that Overwhelming *wrath*. We are poor Travellers in a World, which is as well the Devils *Field*, as the Devils *Gaol*; a World, in every Nook whereof, the Devil is encamped, with *Bands of Robbers*, to pester all that have their *Face looking Zion-ward*: And are we all this while preserved from the undoing Snares of the *Devil*! it is, *Thou, O keeper of Israel, that hast hitherto been our Keeper*! And therefore, *Bless the Lord, O my soul, Bless his Holy Name, who has redeemed thy Life from the Destroyer*!

Corollary. II.

We may see the rise of those multiply'd magnify'd, and Singularly stinged Afflictions, with which *aged* or *dying Saints* frequently have their *Death* Preface'd, & their *Age* embittered. When the Saints of God are going to leave the World, it is usually a more *Stormy World* with them, than ever it was; and they find more *Vanity*, and more *Vexation* in the world than ever they did before. It is true, *That many are the afflictions of the Righteous*

but

but a little before they bid adieu to all those many *Afflictions*, they often have greater, harder, Sorer, Loads thereof laid upon them, than they had yet endured. It is true, *That thro' much Tribulation we must enter in the Kingdom of God*; but a little before our *Entrance* thereinto, our *Tribulation* may have some sharper accents of Sorrow, than ever were yet upon it. And what is the cause of this! It is indeed the *Faithfulness of our God unto us*, that we should find the *Earth* more full of *Thorns* and *Briars* than ever, just before he fetches us from *Earth* to *Heaven*; that so we may go away the more willingly, the more easily, and with less Convulsion, at his calling for us. O there are *ugly Ties*, by which we are fastned unto this world; but God will by *Thorns and Briars* tear those *Ties* asunder. But, *Is not the Hand of Joab here?* Sure, There is the *wrath* of the *Devil* also in it. A little before we step into Heaven, the *Devil* thinks with himself, *My time to abuse that Saint is now but short; what Mischief I am to do that Saint, must be done quickly, if at all; he'l shortly be out of my Reach for ever.* And for this cause he will now fly upon us with the Fiercest Efforts and Furies of his *Wrath*. It was allowed unto the *Serpent*, in Gen. 2. 15. *To Bruise the Heel.* Why, at the *Heel*, or at the *Close*, of our Lives, the *Serpent* will be nibbling, more than ever in our Lives before: and it is, *Because now he has but a short time.* He knows, That we shall very shortly be

be, *Where the Wicked ceaſe from Troubling, and where the Weary are at Reſt*; wherefore that *Wicked* one will now *Trouble* us, more than ever he did, and we ſhall have ſo much *Diſreſt*, as will make us more *weary* than ever we were, of things here below.

Corollary. III

What a Reaſonable Thing then is it, that they whoſe *Time* is but *ſhort*, ſhould make as great *Uſe* of their *Time*, as ever they can! I pray, let us learn ſome *good*, even from the *Wicked One* himſelf. It has been adviſed, *Be Wiſe as Serpents*: why, there is a peece of *Wiſdom*, whereto that *old Serpent*, the *Divel* himſelf, may be our Monitor. When the *Divel* perceives his *Time* is but *ſhort*; it puts him upon *Great Wrath*. But how ſhould it be with *us*, when we perceive that our *Time* is but *ſhort*? why, it ſhould put us upon *Great Work*. The motive which makes the Divel to be more full of *wrath*, ſhould make us more full of *warmth*, more full of *watch*, and more full of *All Diligence to make our Vocation, and Election ſure*. Our *Pace* in our Journey *Heaven-ward*, muſt be Quickened, if our *ſpace* for that Journey be ſhortened: even as Iſrael went further the *two laſt* years of their Journey *Canaan-ward*, than they did in *Thirty eight* years before. The Apoſtle brings this, as a *ſpur* to the Devotions of Chriſtians, in. 1. *Cor.* 7. 29. *This I ſay, Brethren, the time is ſhort*. Even ſo, *I ſay* this day; ſome things I lay before you, which I do only *think*, or *gueſs*, but here is a thing which I venture to *ſay* with all the freedom

freedom Imaginable. You have now a *Time* to *Get* good; even a *Time* to make sure of *Grace and Glory, and every good thing*, by true Repentance; But, *This I say, the time is but short.* You have now *Time* to *Do* good; even to *serve out your generation*, as by the *Will*, so for the *Praise* of God; But, *This I say the time is but short:* And what I say thus to *All* People, I say to *Old* People, with a Peculiar Vehemency: Sirs, It Cannot be long, before your *Time* is out; there are but a few Sands Left in the glass of your *Time*: And it is of all things the saddest, for a man to say, *My Time is done but my work undone!* O then, *To work* as fast as you can; and of Soul-Work, and Church-Work, Dispatch as much as ever you can. Say to all *Hinderancers*, as the Gracious *Jeremiah Burrows* would sometimes to *Visitants*: *You'l excuse me if I ask you to be short with me, for my work is great, and my Time is but short.* Methinks every *Time*, we hear a clock, or see a watch, we have an Admonition given us, That our *Time* is upon the *wing*, and it will all be gone within a little while. I Remember I have read of a famous man, who having a *Clock-Watch* long Lying by him, out of Kilture in his Trunk, it unaccountably Struck *Eleven* just before he *Dy'd*. Why, there are many of you, for whom I am to do that office this day: I am to tell you, *You are come to your Eleventh Hour*; there is no more than a *Twelfth Part* at most, of your life yet behind. But if we neglect our business, till our *short Time* shall be reduced into *None*, then, *wo to us, for the great wrath of God will send us down from whence there is no Redemption.*

Corollary. IV.

How wellcome ſhould a *Death in the Lord*, be unto them, that belong not unto the Divel, but unto the Lord! While We are ſojourning in this world, we are in what may upon too many accounts be called *The Divels Country*: we are where the Divel may *Come down* upon us in *Great Wrath* continually. The day when God ſhall take us out of this world, will be, *The Day when the Lord will deliver us from the Hand of all our enemies, and from the Hand of Satan*: In ſuch a day, why ſhould not our Song be that of the Pſalmiſt, *Bleſſed be my Rock, and let the God of my Salvation be Exalted!* While we are here, we are in *the Valley of the ſhadow of Death*; and what is it that makes it ſo! Ti's becauſe the *Wild Beaſts of Hell* are lurking on every ſide of us, & every minute ready to Salley forth upon us. But our *Death* will fetch us out of that *Valley*, and carry us where we ſhall be, *For ever with the Lord.* We are now under the daily *Buffetings* of the Divel, and he does moleſt us with ſuch *Fiery Darts*, as cauſe us even to cry out, *I am weary of my Life.* Yea, but are we as *Willing to Dy*, as, *Weary of Life?* Our Death will then ſoon ſet us where we cannot be Reach'd by the, *Fiſt of Wickedneſs*: and where the, *Perfect cannot be ſhotten at.* It is ſaid, in Rev. 14. 13. *Bleſſed are the Dead, which Dy in the Lord, They Reſt from their Labours.* But we may ſay, *Bleſſed are the Dead in the Lord, inaſmuch they Reſt from the Devils!* Our

Dying

Dying will be but our *Taking Wing*: When, attended with a Convoy of Winged Angels, we shall be convey'd into that Heaven, from whence the *Devil* having been thrown, he shall never more come thither after us. What if God should now say to us, as to *Moses, Go up and Dy!* As long as we *Go up*, when we *Dy*, Let us receive the Message with a Joyful Soul; we shall soon be there, where the Devil can't *Come Down* upon us. If the, *God of our Life*, should now send that Order to us, which he gave to *Hezekiah, Set thy House in Order, for thou shalt Dy, and not Live*; We need not be cast into such deadly Agonies thereupon, as *Hezekiah* was: We are but going to that *House*, the Golden Doors whereof, cannot be Entred by the Devil that here did use to Persecute us. Methinks, I see the Departed *Spirit* of a Believer, Triumphantly carried thro' the Devils *Territories*, in such a Stately and Fiery, Chariot, as the *Spiritualizing Body* of *Elias* had; methinks, I see the Devil, with whole Flocks of *Harpies*, grinning at this Child of God, but unable to fasten any of their Griping Talons upon him: And then, upon the utmost Edge of our *Atmosphære*, methinks I over-hear the Holy Soul, with a most Heavenly Gallantry deriding the Defeated Fiend, and saying, *Ah! Satan! Return to thy Dungeons again; I am going where thou canst not come for ever!* O 'tis a Brave Thing so to Dy! And especially so to Dy, in *Our Time*. For, tho' when we call to mind, *That the Devils Time is now but short*, it may almost make us wish to

Live unto the *End* of it; and to say with the Psalmist, *Because the Lord will shortly appear in His Glory, to Build up Zion. O my God, Take me not away in the midst of my Dayes!* Yet when we bear in mind, *That the Devils Wrath is now most Great*, it would make one willing to be, *Out of the Way*. Inasmuch as now is the Time for the doing of those things in the prospect whereof *Balaam* long ago cry'd out, *Who shall live when such Things are done!* We should not be inordinately loth to *Dy* at such a Time. In a word, The *Times* are so *Bad*, that we may well count it, as *Good* a *Time* to Dy in, as ever we saw.

Corollary. V.

Good News for the *Israel* of God, and particularly for His *New-English Israel!* If the Devils *Time* were above a *Thousand Years ago*, pronounced *Short*, What may we suppose it now in *Our* Time? Surely *We* are not a *Thousand Years* distant from those Happy *Thousand Years* of rest and peace, and [which is better] *Holiness*, reserved for the people of God in the latter days; and if we are not a *Thousand Years* yet short of that Golden Age, there is cause to think, that we are not an *Hundred*. That the blessed *Thousand Years* are not yet begun, is abundantly clear from this, *We do not see the Devil bound*; No, the Devil was never more let *Loose* than in our *Days*; and it is very much that any should imagine otherwise,

wise: But the same thing that proves the *Thousand Years* of Prosperity for the Church of God, UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN, to be not yet *Begun*, do's also prove, that it is not very *Far Off*; and that is the prodigious *Wrath* with which the Devil do's in our Days Persecute, yea, Desolate the World. Let us cast our Eyes almost where we will, and we shall see the *Devils* Domineering at such a rate as may justly fill us with astonishment; it is Quæstionable whether *Iniquity* ever were so Rampant, or whether *Calamity* were ever so Pungent, as in this Lamentable *Time*; We may truly say, *'Tis the Hour and the Power of Darkness.* But, tho' the *Wrath* be so *Great*, the *Time* is but *Short*: when we are perplexed with the *Wrath* of the Devil, the *Word* of our God at the same time unto us, is that, in Rom. 16. 20. *The God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet SHORTLY.* SHORTLY, didst thou say, Dearest Lord! O! Gladsome word! Amen, *Even so, Come, Lord! Lord Jesus, Come Quickly! We shall never be rid of this Troublesome Devil, till, Thou do come to Chain him up!*

But because the people of God, would willingly be told *Whereabouts* we are with reference to the *Wrath and the Time*, of the Devil, you shall give me leave humbly to set before you a few, *Conjectures.*

The first Conjecture.

The Devils *Eldest Son* seems to be towards the

End

End of his laſt *Half-time*; and if it be ſo, the Devils *Whole-time*, cannot but be very near it's *End*. It is a very ſcandalous thing that any *Proteſtant*, ſhould be at a loſs where to find, *The Anti-Chriſt*. But, we have ſufficient Aſſurance, that the Duration of *Antichriſt*, is to be but for a *Time*, and for *Times*, and for *Half a time*; that is for *Twelve-hundred and Sixty Years*. And indeed, thoſe *Twelve Hundred and Sixty years*, were the very Spott of *Time* left for the *Devil*, and meant when 'tis here ſaid, *He has but a ſhort time*. Now, I ſhould have an *Eaſy Time* of it, if I were never put upon an *Harder Task*, than to produce what might render it extreamly probable, That Antichriſt entred his laſt *Half-time*, or the Laſt *Hundred* and *Fourſcore* years of his Reign, *at* or ſoon *after* the Celebrated *Reformation* which began at the year 1517 in the former Century. Indeed, it is very agreeable to ſee how Antichriſt then Loſt *Half* of his Empire; and how that *Half* which then became *Reformed*, have been upon many accounts little more than *Half-Reformed*. But by this Computaion, we muſt needs bee within a very few years of ſuch a *Mortification* to befall the See of *Rome*, as that Antichriſt who ha's lately been planting (what proves no more laſting than) a *Tabernacle in the Glorious Holy Mountain between the Seas*, muſt quickly, *Come to his End and none ſhall help him*. So then, within a very little while, we ſhall ſee the Devil ſtript of the Grand, yea, the Laſt, *Vehicle*, wherein he will be capable to abuſe our World. The *Fires*, with which, *That Beaſt*, is to be conſumed,

ned, will so singe the Wings of the *Devil* too, that he shall no more set the Affairs of *this* world on *Fire*. Yea, they shall both go into the same *Fire*, to be *tormented for ever and ever*.

The Second Conjecture.

That which is, perhaps, the greatest Effect of the *Divels Wrath*, seems to be in a manner at an *end*: and this would make one hope that the *Divels Time* cannot be far from its *end*. It is in PERSECUTION, that the *wrath* of the Divel uses to break forth, with its greatest Fury. Now there want not Probabilities, that the *Last Persecution* intended for the Church of God, before the Advent of Our Lord, has been upon it. When we see the, *Second Woe Passing away*, we have a fair signal given unto us, *That the Last Slaughter of our Lords Witnesses is over*: and then what QUICKLY followes? The Next thing is, *The Kingdomes of this World, are become the Kingdomes of Our Lord, and of His Christ*: and then *Down* goes the Kingdome of the Divel, so that he cannot any more *come down* upon us. Now, the Irrecoverable & Irretrievable Humiliations that have Lately befallen the *Turkish Power*, are but so many Declarations of the, *Second Woe Passing away*. And the dealings of God with the *European* parts of the world, at this day, do further strengthen this our Expectation. We *do* see, *At this Hour a great Earth-Quake all Europe over*: and we *shall* see, that this *Great Earth-quake*, and these great Commotions, will

but

but Contribute unto the Advancement of Our Lords Hitherto Depressed Interests. Tis also to be Remark'd that, A Disposition to Recognize the *Empire* of God over the *Conscience* of man, does now prevail more in the world than formerly; & God from on High more touches the Hearts of Princes & Rulers with an Averseness to Persecution. Tis Particularly the unspeakable Happiness of the English Nation, to be under the Influences of that Excellent Queen, who could say, *Inasmuch as a man cannot make himself Believe what he will, why should we Persecute men for not Believing as we do? I wish I could see all good men of one mind; but in the mean time I pray, let them however Love one another.* Words Worthy to be written in Letters of Gold! and by *us* the more to be considered, because to one of *Ours* did that Royal Person Express Her Self so Excellently, so Obligingly. When the late King *James* published his Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, a Worthy Divine in the Church of *England*, then studying the *Revelation*, saw cause upon *Revelational* Grounds, to Declare himself in such words as these, *Whatsoever others may intend or design by this Liberty of Conscience, I cannot believe, that it will ever be recalled in* England, *as long as the World stands.* And you know how Miraculously the *Earth-Quake* which then immediately came upon the Kingdom, ha's established that *Liberty!* But that which exceeds all the tendencies this way, is, The Dispensation of God at this Day, towards the blessed *Waldenses*. Those Renowned *Waldenses*, which were a Joy to *Italy* unto all the Protestant Churches,

were

were never dissipated, by all the Persecutions of many Ages, till within these few years, the *French* King and the *Duke of Savoy* Leagued for their Dissipation. But just *Three years and half after* the *scattering* of that Holy people, to the Surprise of all the world, a *Spirit of life from God* is come into them; and having with a Thousand Miracles Repossessed themselves of their antient Seats, their Hot *Persecutor* is become their great *Protector*. Whereupon the Reflection of the Worthy person, that writes the story is, *The Churches of* Piemont, *being the Root of the Protestant Churches, They have been the first Established; the Churches of other places, being but the Branches, shall be Established in due time, God will deliver them speedily, He has already delivered the Mother, and He will not long leave the Daughter behind: He will Finish what he has Gloriously begun!*

The Third Conjecture.

There is a *Little Room* for Hope, that the *Great Wrath* of the Devil, will not prove the Present Ruine of our poor *New-England* in particular. I believe, there never was a poor Plantation, more Pursued by the *Wrath of the Devil*, than our poor *New-England*; and that which makes our Condition very much the more deplorable is, That the *Wrath* of the *Great God* Himself, at the same Time also presses hard upon us. It was a Rowsing *Alarm* to the Devil, when a great Company of English

Protest-

Proteſtants, and *Puritans*, came to Erect Evangelical Churches, in a corner of the World, where he had Reign'd without any Controll for many Ages; and it is a vexing *Eye-ſore*, to the Devil, that our Lord Chriſt ſhould be known, and own'd, and preached in this *Howling Wilderneſs*. Wherefore he has left no *Stone Unturned*, that ſo he might undermine his Plantation, and force us out of our Country.

Firſt, The Indian *Powawes*, uſed all their Sorceries to moleſt the Firſt Planters here; but God ſaid unto them, *Touch them not*! Then, *Seducing Spirits*, came to *Root* in this Vineyard, but God ſo Rated them off, that they have not prevail'd much further than the Edges of our Land. After this, we have had a continual *Blaſt* upon ſome of our principal Grain, Annually diminiſhing a vaſt part of our *Ordinary Food*. Herewithal, Waſting *Sickneſſes*, eſpecially Burning, and Mortal Agues, have Shot the Arrows of Death in at our Windows. Next, We have had many Adverſaries of our own Language, who have been perpetually aſſaying to deprive us of thoſe *Engliſh Liberties*, in the Encouragement whereof theſe Territories have been Settled. As if this had not been enough; The *Tawnies* among whom we came, have Watered our Soyl, with the Blood, of many Hundreds of our Inhabitants. Deſolating *Fires* alſo have many times laid the chief Treaſure of the whole Province in Aſhes. As for *Loſſes* by Sea, *they*

have been multiply'd upon us: and particularly in the present *French War*, the whole English Nation have observed, That no part of the Nation has proportionably had so many Vessels taken, as our poor *New-England*. Besides all which, now at last the Devils are (if I may so speak) *in Person* come down upon us, with such a *Wrath*, as is justly *much*, and will quickly be *more*, the Astonishment of the World. Alas, I may Sigh over *this* Wilderness, as *Moses* did over *his*, in Psal. 90. 7, 9. *We are consumed by thine Anger, and by thy Wrath we are Troubled: All our Dayes are passed away in thy Wrath.* And I may add this unto it, *The Wrath of the Devil hath been Troubling and Spending of us, all our Dayes.*

But what will become of this poor *New-England* after all? Shall we Sink, Expire, Perish, before the *Short* Time of the Devil shall be finished? I must confess, That when I consider the lamentable *Unfruitfulness* of men, among us, under as powerful and perspicuous Dispensations of the Gospel, as are in the World; and when I consider the Declining State of the *Power of Godliness* in our Churches, with the most horrible Indisposition that perhaps ever was, to Recover out of this Declension; I cannot but *Fear* lest it comes to this, and lest an *Asiatic* Removal of Candlesticks come upon us. But upon some other Accounts, I would fain *Hope* otherwise; and I will give *you* therefore the opportunity to Try what Inferences may be drawn from these probable Prognostications.

I say, First, That surely, *America's* Fate, must at the long run, include *New-Englands* in it. What was the Design of our God, in bringing over so many *Europæans* hither of later years? Of what Use or State will *America* be, when the *Kingdom of God* shall come? If it must all be the Devils propriety, while the *Saved Nations* of the other Hæmisphere, shall be, *Walking in the Light of the New Jerusalem*, Our *New-England* has then, 'tis likely, done all that it was Erected for. But if God have a Purpose to make here a Seat for any of, *Those Glorious Things, which are spoken of Thee, O thou City of God*; then even Thou, O *New-England*, art within a very little while of Better Dayes than ever yet have Dawn'd upon thee.

I say, *Secondly*, That tho' there be very *Threatning* Symptoms on *America*, yet there are some *Hopeful* ones. I confess, when one thinks upon the crying Barbarities with which the most of those *Europæans* that have Peopled this New world, became the Masters of it; it looks but *Ominously*. When one also thinks, How much the way of Living in many parts of *America*, is utterly Inconsistent with the very Essentials of *Christianity*; yea, how much Injury and Violence is therein done to *Humanity* it self; it is enough to Damp the Hopes of the most Sanguine Complexion. And the *Frown* of Heaven which has hitherto been upon Attempts of better Gospellizing the Plantations, considered, will but increase the *Damp*. Nevertheless, on the other side, what shall be said of all the

Promises

Promises, That our *Lord Jesus Christ shall have the uttermost parts of the Earth for his Possession*? and of all the *Prophecies*, That *All the ends of the Earth shall Remember and Turn unto the Lord*? Or does it look *Agreeably*, That such a Rich Quarter of the World, equal in some Regards to all the Rest, should never be out of the *Devils* Hands, from the first Inhabitation unto the Last Dissolution of it? No sure; why may not the *last* be the *first*? and the *Sun of Righteousness* come to shine *Brightest*, in Climates which it Rose *Latest* upon!

I say, *Thirdly*, That *as* it fares with *Old England*, so it will be most likely to fare with *New-England*. For which cause, by the way, there may be more of the Divine Favour in the present Circumstances of our Dependence on *England*, than we are well aware of. This is very sure, if matters *Go Ill* with our *Mother*, her poor American *Daughter* here, must feel it; nor could our former Happy Settlement have hindred our Sympathy in that Unhappiness. But if matters *Go Well* in the Three Kingdoms; as long as God shall Bless the English Nation, with Rulers that shall Encourage *Piety*, *Honesty*, *Industry*, in their Subjects, and that shall cast a Benign Aspect upon the Interests of our Glorious Gospel, *Abroad* as well as *at Home*; so long, *New-England* will at least keep its Head above Water: and so much the more, for our Comfortable Settlement in such a Form as we are now cast into. Unless, there should be any Singular, Destroying, *Topical Plagues*, whereby an offended God should at last make us

Rise;

Riſe; But, *Alas, O Lord, what other Hive haſt Thou Provided for us!*

I ſay, *Fourthly*, That the *Elder England* will certainly & ſpeedily be Viſited with the *Ancient Loving kindneſs* of God. When one ſees, how ſtrangely the Curſe of our *Joſhua*, has fallen upon the Perſons & Houſes of them, that have attempted the Rebuilding of the *Old* Romiſh *Jericho*, which has there been ſo far demoliſhed, they cannot but ſay, That the *Reformation* there, ſhall not only be maintained, but alſo purſued, proceeded, perfected; and that God will ſhortly there have a *New Jeruſalem*. Or, Let a Man in his Thoughts run over; but the Series of amazing Providences towards the Engliſh Nation for the laſt *Thirty Years*: Let him Reflect, How many *Plots* for the Ruine of the Nation, have been ſtrangely diſcovered? yea, How very unaccountably, thoſe very *Perſons*, yea, I may alſo ſay, and thoſe very *Methods* which were intended for the Tools of that Ruine, have become the Inſtruments, or Occaſions of Deliverances? A man cannot but ſay upon theſe Reflections, as the Wife of *Manoah* once prudently expreſſed her ſelf, *If the Lord were pleaſed to have Deſtroyed us, He would not have ſhow'd us, all theſe things.* Indeed, It is not unlikely, that the Enemies of the Engliſh Nation, may yet provoke ſuch a *Shake* unto it, as may perhaps exceed any that has hitherto been undergone: the Lord prevent the Machinations of his Adverſaries! But, that *Shake* will uſher in the moſt *Glorious Times*, that ever aroſe upon the Engliſh *Horizon*.

As

As for the *French* Cloud which hangs over *England*, tho' it be like to Rain Showers of *Blood* upon a Nation, where the *Blood* of the Blessed Jesus, has been too much treated, as an *Unholy Thing*; yet I believe, God will shortly scatter it: and my Belief is grounded upon a Bottom, that will bear it. If that overgrown *French Leviathan*, should accomplish any thing like a Conquest of *England*, what could there be to hinder him from the Universal Empire of the *West*? But the *Visions* of the Western World, in the *Views* both of *Daniel* and of *John*, do assure us, that whatever Monarch, shall while the *Papacy* continues, go to smallow up the *Ten Kings* which received *Their Power* upon the Fall of the Western Empire, he must miscarry in the Attempt. The *French Phaetons* Epitaph seems written in that, *Sure Word of Prophecy*!

[Since the making of this Conjecture, there are Arriv'd unto us, the News of a Victory obtain'd by the *English* over the *French*, which further confirms our Conjecture; and causes us to sing, *Pharaohs Chariots, and his Host, has the Lord cast down into the Sea*; *Thy Right-hand has dashed in pieces the Enemy*!]

Now, *In the Salvation of* England, the Plantations cannot but *Rejoyce*, and *New-England* also will *be Glad*.

But so much for our *Corollaries*, I hasten to the main Thing designed for your Entertainment. And that is,

An

An Hortatory and Neceſſary
ADDRESS.
To a Country now Extraordinarily Alarum'd
by the *Wrath* of the *Devil*. 'Tis this,

LEt us now make a Good and a Right uſe, of the Prodigious *Deſcent*, which the *Devil*, in *great Wrath*, is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an Orator call'd the Town together, crying out, *Cucurrite Cives, Dilapſa ſunt veſtra Mœnia!* that is, *Come together, Neighbours, your Town-Walls, are fallen down!* But ſuch is the Deſcent of the Devil at this day upon ourſelves, that I may truly tell you, *The Walls of the whole World are broken down!* The uſual *Walls* of Defence about mankind have ſuch a Gap made in them, that the very *Devils* are broke in upon us, to Seduce the *Souls*, Torment the *Bodies*, Sully the *Credits*, and conſume the *Eſtates* of our Neighbours, with Impreſſions both as *Real* and as *Furious*, as if the *Inviſible* World were becoming *Incarnate*, on purpoſe for the vexing of us. And what uſe ought now to be made of ſo Tremendous a diſpenſation? We are engaged in a *Faſt* this day; but ſhall we try to fetch, *Meat out of the Eater*, and make the *Lion* to afford ſome *Hony* for our *Souls*.

That the Devil, is *Come down unto us with great Wrath*, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many wayes, for many years, hat the Devil been aſſaying to

to Extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus here. *New-England* may complain of the Devil, as in Psal. 129. 1,2. *Many a time have they Afflicted me, from my Youth, may,* New-England *now say; many a time have they Afflicted me from my Youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.* But now there is a more than Ordinary *Affliction,* with which the *Devil* is Galling of us: and such an one as is indeed Unparallellable. The Things Confessed by *Witches* and the Things Endured by *Others,* laid together, amount unto this account of our Affliction. The *Devil,* Exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man,* has decoy'd a fearful Knot of Proud, Froward, Ignorant, Envious, and Malicious Creatures, to List themselves in his Horrid Service, by Entring their Names in a *Book* by him Tendred unto them. These *Witches,* whereof above a Score have now *Confessed, and shown their Deeds,* and some are now Tormented by the Devils, for *Confessing,* have met in Hellish *Randezvouzes,* wherein the Confessors do say, they have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the *Supper* of our Lord. In these Hellish Meetings, these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a Thing than, *To Destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in these parts of the World*; and in order hereunto, First, they each of them have their *Spectres,* or Devils, Commission'd by them, and Representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres,* they Sieze poor people about the Country, with Various and bloody

Torments; and of those Evidently Preternatural Torments there are some have *Dy'd*. They have bewitched some, even so far as to make them *Self-Destroyers*: and others are in many Towns here and there Languishing under their *Evil Hands*. The People thus Afflicted, are miserably Scratched and Bitten, so that the Marks are most *Visible* to all the World, but the causes utterly *Invisible*; and the same *Invisible* Furies, do most Visibly stick *Pins* into the Bodies of the Afflicted, and *Scald* them, & hideously Distort, and Disjoint all their members, besides a thousand other sorts of Plagues beyond these of any Natural Diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor People out of their Chambers, and Carry them over *Trees* and *Hills*, for diverse Miles together. A large part of the Persons tortured by these Diabolical *Spectres*, are horribly Tempted by them, sometimes with fair Promises, and sometimes with hard Threatenings, but alwayes with felt Miseries, to sign the *Devils Laws*, in a Spectral *Book* laid before them; which two or three of these poor Sufferers, being by their Tiresome Sufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been released from all their Miseries, & they appear'd in *Spectre* then to Torture those that were before their Fellow-Sufferers. The *Witches* which by their Covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of *Spectres*, are oftentimes by their own *Spectres* Required and Compelled to give their Consent, for the Molestation of some, which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon; and

Cruel Depredations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Prosecution of these *Witchcrafts*, among a thousand other unaccountable Things, the *Spectres* have an odd Faculty of Cloathing the most Substantial and Corporeal Instruments of Torture, with *Invisibility*, while the Wounds thereby given have been the most palpable Things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron wholly *unseen* to the Standers-by, tho' to their cost seen by themselves, have upon snatching, wrested the Instruments out of the *Spectres* Hands, and every one has then immediately not only *beheld*, but *handled*, an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. These wicked *Spectres* have proceeded so far, as to Steal several Quantities of Mony from divers people, part of which Money has before sufficient Spectators been dropt out of the Air into the Hands of the Sufferers, while the *Spectres* have been urging them to Subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. In such extravagant wayes, have these Wretches propounded, the *Dragooning* of as many as they can, into their own Combination, and the *Destroying* of others, with Lingring, Spreading, Deadly Diseases; till our Country should at last become too hot for us. Among the Ghastly Instances of the *Success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own *Children*, so Dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy, it is found, the *Imps* have Sucked them, and Rendred them Venemous to a Prodigy. We have also seen

Devils *First* Batteries, upon the Town, where the *First* Church of our Lord in this Colony was Gathered, producing thoſe *Diſtractions*, which have almoſt Ruined the Town. We have ſeen likewiſe the *Plague* reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near, where the Houſes of *Good Men* have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the *Deſcent* which, as it ſeems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Deſcent the more formidable is; The *Multitude* and *Quality* of Perſons Accuſed of an Intereſt in this *Witchcraft*, by the Efficacy of the *Spectres* which take their Name and Shape upon them; cauſing very many Good and Wiſe, men to fear, That many *Innocent*, yea, and ſome *Vertuous* Perſons, are by the Devils in this matter Impoſed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power, to take on them the *Likeneſs* of Harmleſs People, and in that *Likeneſs* to Afflict other People, and be ſo abuſed by Præſtigious *Dæmons*, that upon their *Look* or *Touch*, the Afflicted ſhall be oddly Affected. Arguments from the *Providence* of *God*, on the one ſide, and from our *Charity* towards *Man*, on the other ſide, have made This now to become a moſt Agitated Controverſy among us. There is an *Agony* produced in the minds of men, Leſt the *Devil* ſhould ſham us with *Devices*, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practiſed upon the World. The whole Buſineſs is become hereupon ſo *Snarled*, and the Determination of the Queſtion one way or another, ſo *Diſmal*, that our Honourable

ble Judges, have a Room for *Jehoshaphats* Exclamation, *We know not what to do!* They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the *Spectral Evidences*, to introduce their further Enquiries into the *Lives* of the Persons Accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with *Other Evidences*, that some of the *Witch Gang* have been fairly Executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the *Evidence* is chiefly founded in the *Dark World?* Here they do solemnly demand our Addresses to the, *Father of Lights*, on their Behalf. But in the mean time, the Devil improves the *Darkness* of this Affair, to push us into a *Blind Mans Buffet*, and we are even ready to be *Sinfully*, yea, Hotly, and Madly, Mauling one another, in the *Dark*.

The Consequence of these things, every *Considerate* man trembles at; and the more, because the frequent Cheats of Passion, and Rumour, do precipitate so many, that I wish I could say, The most were *Considerate*.

But that which carries on the Formidableness of our Trialls, unto that which may be called, *A wrath unto the uttermost*, is this: It is not without the *wrath* of the Almighty *God* Himself, that the *Devil* is permitted thus to come down upon us in *wrath*. It was said, in *Isa.* 9. 19. *Thro the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, the Land is Darkned.* Our Land is *Darkned* indeed; since the *Powers of Darkness* are turned in upon us,; tis a *Dark Time*, yea, a Black Night indeed, now

now the *Ty-Dogs* of the Pitt, are abroad among us: but, *It is thro the wrath of the Lord of Hosts!* Inasmuch as the *Fire-brands* of *Hell* it self are used for the Scorching of us, with cause Enough may we cry out, *What means the Heat of this Anger?* Blessed Lord! Are all the other Instruments of thy Vengeance, too Good for the chastisement of such transgressors as we are? Must the very *Devils* be sent out of *Their own place*, to be our Troublers? Must we be lash'd with *Scorpions*, fetch'd from the *Place of Torment*? Must this *Wilderness* be made a Receptacle for the *Dragons of the Wilderness*? If a *Lapland* should nourish in it vast numbers, the Successors of the old *Biarmi*, who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or Sell Winds to Marriners, and have their *Familiar Spirits* which they bequeath to their Children when they dy, and by their Enchanted Kettle-Drums can learn things done a Thousand Leagues off; If a *Swedeland* should afford a Village, where some scores of Haggs, may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits*, but also by their Enchantments drag many scores of poor Children out of their Bed-Chambers, to be spoiled at those meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of so much wonder! But that *New-England* should this way be harassed! They are not *Chaldeans*, that *Bitter, and Hasty Nation*, but they are, *Bitter and Burning* Devils; They are not *Swarthy Indians*, but they are *Sooty Devils*; that are let loose upon us. Ah, Poor *New-England*! Must the plague of *Old Egypt* come upon thee? Whereof we read in *Psal.*

78.

78. 49. *He cast upon them, the fierceness of his Anger, Wrath, and Indignation, and Trouble, by sending Evil Angels among them.* What? O what must next be looked for. Must that which is there next mentioned, be next encountered? *He spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the Pestilence.* For my part, when I consider what *Melancthon* saies, in one of his Epistles, *That these Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodigies*; and when I consider, how often people have been by *Spectres* called upon, just before their *Deaths*; I am verily afraid, Lest some wasting *Mortality*, be among the things, which this plague is the *Forerunner* of. I pray God, prevent it!

But now, *What shall we do?*

I. Let the *Devils coming down* in *great wrath* upon us, cause us to *come down* in *great grief* before the Lord. We may truly and sadly say, *We are brought very low! Low*, indeed when the Serpents of the dust, are crawling and coyling about us, and Insulting over us. May we not say, *We are in the very belly of Hell.* when *Hell* it self is feeding upon us? But how *Low* is that! O let us then most Penitently lay ourselves very *Low*, before the God of Heaven, who has thus Abased us. When a Truculent *Nero*, a *Devil* of a man, was turned in upon the World, it was said in, 1. Pet. 5. 6, *Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God.* How much more now ought we to *Humble ourselves*, under that *Mighty Hand* of that God who indeed has the Devil in a *Chain*, but has horribly lengthened out the *Chain*!

When

When the Old People of God, heard any *Blasphemies* tearing of his Ever-Blessed Name to pieces, they were to *Rend their Cloaths* at what they heard. I am sure, that we have cause to *Rend our Hearts* this Day, when we see what an High Treason has been committed against the most High God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may say; and shall we not be *Humbled* when we say it? *We have seen an horrible thing done in our Land!* O 'tis a most humbling thing, to think, that ever there should be such an abomination among us, as for a Crue of Humane Race, to renounce their *Maker*, and to unite with the *Devil*, for the Troubling of Mankind, and for people to be, (as is by some confess'd) *Baptized* by a *Fiend* using this form upon them, *Thou art mine, and I have a full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an Hellish *Bread* and *Wine*, by that Fiend Admnistred unto them. It was said in Deut. 18.10, 11, 12. *There shall not be found among you an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard or a Necromancer; For all that do these things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee.* That *New-England* now should have these *Abominations* in it, yea, that some of no mean *Profession*, should be found guilty of them: Alas, what *Humiliations* are we all hereby oblig'd unto? O 'Tis a *Defiled Land*, wherein we Live; Let us be Humbled for these *Defiling Abominations*, Lest we be driven out of our Land, It's a very *Humbling* Thing to think,

think, what Reproaches will be cast upon us, for this Matter, among, *The Daughters of the Philistines.* Indeed, enough might easily be said for the Vindication of *this* Country from the *Singularity* of this Matter, by Ripping up, what has been discovered in *others*. *Great Britain* alone, and this also in our Dayes of *Greatest Light*, has had that in it, which may divert the Calumnies of an Ill-natured World, from Centring here. They are the words of the Devout Bishop *Hall*, *Satans Prevalency in this Age, is most clear in the marvellous Number of Witches abounding in all places. Now Hundreds are discovered in one Shire; and, if Fame Deceive us not, in a Village of Fourteen Houses in the North, are found so many of this Damned Brood. Yea, and those of both Sexes, who have Professed much Knowledge, Holiness, and Devotion, are drawn into this Dammable Practice.* I suppose the Doctor in the first of those Passages, may refer to what happened in the Year 1645. When so many Vassals of the Devil were Detected, that there were *Thirty* Try'd at one time, whereas about *Fourteen* were Hang'd, and an Hundred more Detained in the Prisons of *Suffolk* and *Essex*. Among other things which many of these Acknowledged, one was, That they were to undergo certain *Punishments*, if they did not such and such *Hurts*, as were appointed them. And, among the Rest that were then Executed, there was an Old Parson, called, *Lowis*, who Confessed, that he had a Couple of *Imps*, whereof *One* was alwayes putting him upon the doing of Mischief; Once particularly,

ticularly, that *Imp* calling for his Conſent ſo to do, went immediately and Sunk a *Ship*, then under Sail. I pray, Let not *New-England* become of an Unſavoury and a Sulphurous Reſentment in the Opinion of the World Abroad, for the Doleful Things which are now fallen out among us, while there are ſuch *Hiſtories* of other places abroad in the World. Nevertheleſs, I am ſure that *we*, the People of *New-England*, have cauſe enough to *Humble* our ſelves under our moſt *Humbling* Circumſtances. We muſt no more, be, *Haughty, becauſe of the Lords Holy Mountain among us*; No, it becomes us rather to be, *Humble, becauſe we have been ſuch an Habitation of Unholy Devils!*

II. Since the Divel is *come down* in *great wrath* upon us, let not us in our *great wrath* againſt one another provide a *Lodging* for him. It was a moſt wholeſome caution, in *Eph.* 4. 26. 27. *Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath: Neither give place to the Divel.* The Divel is come down to ſee what *Quarter* he ſhall find among us: and, if his coming down, do now fill us with *wrath* againſt one another, and if between the cauſe of the *Sufferers* on one hand, and the cauſe of the *Suſpected* on t'other, we carry things to ſuch extreames of *Paſſion* as are now gaining upon us, the Devil will Bleſs himſelf, to find ſuch a convenient *Lodging* as we ſhall therein afford unto him. And it may be that the *wrath* which we have had againſt one another has had

more

more then a little Influence upon the coming down of the Divel in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been *Devils* one unto another for Slanderings, for Backbitings, for Animosities? For *this*, among other causes, perhaps, God has permitted the *Devils* to be Worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all *Devilism*, when the *Devil* himself is falling upon us: and it is *no time* for us to be Censuring and Reviling one another, with a *Deviliſh Wrath*, when the *Wrath* of the *Devil* is annoying of us. The way for us to out-wit the Devil, in the *Wiles* with which he now *Vexes* us, would be for us, to join as one man in our cries to God, for the Directing, and Iſſuing of this Thorny Buſineſs; but if we do not *Lift up* our Hands to Heaven, *Without Wrath*, we cannot then do it *without Doubt*, of ſpeeding in it. I am aſhamed when I read French Authors giving this Character of Engliſhmen [*Ils ſe haiſſent Les uns les autres, et ſont en Diviſion Continuelle.*] *They hate one one another, and are always Quarrelling one with another.* And I ſhall be much more aſhamed, if it become the Character of *New-Englanders*; which is indeed, what the Devil would have. *Satan* would make us *Bruiſe* one another, by breaking of the *Peace* among us; but O let us diſappoint him. We read of a thing that ſometimes happens to the *Devil*, when he is foaming with his *Wrath*, in Mat. 12. 43. *The unclean Spirit ſeeks reſt, and finds none.* But we give *Reſt* unto the Devil, by *Wrath* one againſt another. If we would lay aſide all fierceneſs, and keeneſs,

keeneſs, in the diſputes which the Devil has raiſed among us; and if we would uſe to one another none but the, *Soft Anſwers, which Turn away Wrath*: I ſhould hope that we might light upon ſuch Counſels, as would quickly Extricate us out of our *Labyrinths*. But the Old *Incendiary* of the world, is come from Hell, with *Sparks* of Hell-Fire flaſhing on every ſide of him; and we make ourſelves *Tynder* to the Sparks. When the Emperour *Henry* III. kept the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, at the City *Mentz*, there aroſe a Diſſenſion among ſome of the People there, which came from words to Blows, and at laſt it paſſed on to the Shedding of Blood. After the Tumult was over, when they came to that clauſe in their Devotions, *Thou haſt made this day Glorious*; the Devil to the unexpreſſible Terrour of that vaſt Aſſembly, made the Temple Ring with that Outcry *But I have made this Day Quarrelſome!* We are truly come into a day, which by being well managed might be very *Glorious*, for the exterminating of thoſe, *Accurſed Things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Proſperity; but if we make this day *Quarrelſome*, thro' any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, *O Lord, my Fleſh Trembles for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments*. *Eraſmus*, among other Hiſtorians, tells us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a Witch or Devil, appear'd on the Top of a Chimney, Threatning to ſet the Town on *Fire*; and at length, Scattering a Pot of Aſhes abroad, the Town was preſently and Horribly Burn't unto the Ground. Methinks, I ſee the *Spectres*, from the

Tops

Tops of the Chimneys to the North,ward, threatning to Scatter *Fire*, about the Countrey; but let us Quench that *Fire* by the most amicable Correspondencies: Lest, as the *Spectres*, have, they say, already most Literally Burn't some of our Dwellings, there do come forth a further *Fire* from the *Brambles* of Hell, which may more terribly *Devour* us. Let us not be like a *Troubled House*, altho we are so much haunted by the *Devil*. Let our *Long Suffering* be a Well-placed piece of *Armour*, about us, against the *Fiery Darts* of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago, as the year, 858. a certain Pestilent and Malignant sort of a *Dæmon*, molested *Caumont* in *Germany* with all sorts of methods to stir upStrife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detected Villanies, he branded people with all kind of Infamies. He incensed the Neighbourhood against one Man particularly, as the cause of all the mischiefs: who yet proved himself innocent. He threw stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burn't their Habitations, till the Commission of the *Dæmon* could go no further. I say, Let us be well aware lest such *Dæmons* do, *Come hither also!*

III. Inasmuch as the Devil is come down in *Great Wrath*, we had need Labour, with all the Care and Speed we can to Divert the *Great Wrath* of Heaven from coming at the same Time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions, been calling us to,

A Reformation of our Provoking Evils, as the only way to avoid that *Wrath* of His, which does not only *Threaten*, but *Conſume* us. 'Tis becauſe we have been Deaf to thoſe *Calls*, that we are now by a provoked God, laid open to the *Wrath* of the Devil himſelf. It is ſaid in Prov. 16. 7. *When a mans ways pleaſe the Lord, He maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is our Grand *Enemy*: and tho' we would not be at peace *with* him, yet we would be at peace *from* him; that is, we would have him unable to Diſquiet our *Peace*. But inaſmuch as the *Wrath* which we Endure from this *Enemy*, will allow us no *Peace*, we may be ſure, *Our Ways have not pleaſed the Lord*. It is becauſe we have *Broken the Hedge* of Gods *Precepts*, that the Hedge of Gods *Providence* is not ſo Entire as it uſes to be about us; but *Serpents* are *Biting* of us. O let us then ſet our ſelves to make our *Peace* with our God, whom we have *Diſpleaſed* by our Iniquities: and let us not imagine that we can Encounter the *Wrath* of the Devil, while there is the *Wrath* of God Almighty to ſet that Maſtiff upon us. REFORMATION! REFORMATION! has been the Repeated *Cry*, of all the Judgments, that have hitherto been upon us: becauſe we have been as *Deaf Adders* thereunto, the *Adders* of the Infernal Pit are now hiſſing about us. At length, as it was of old ſaid in Luc 16. 30. *If one went unto them, from the Dead, they will Repent*; Even ſo, There are ſome come unto us from the *Damned*.

The

The Great God has Looſed the Bars of the Pit, ſo that many *Damned Spirits* are come in among us, to make us *Repent* of our Miſdemeanours. The means which the Lord had formerly Employ'd for our *Awakening*, were ſuch, that he might well have ſaid, *What could I have done more?* and yet after all, He has done *more*, in ſome regards, than was ever done for the Awakening of any People in the World. The Things now done to Awaken our Enquiries after our *Provoking Evils*, and our Endeavours to Reform thoſe Evils; are moſt EXTRAORDINARY Things; For which cauſe I would freely ſpeak it, If we now do not ſome EXTRAORDINARY Things in Returning to God, we are the moſt *Incurable*, and I wiſh it be not quickly ſaid, the moſt *Miſerable*, People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a Time for all people to do ſomething EXTRAORDINARY *In Searching and in Trying of their Ways, and in Turning to the Lord.* It is at an EXTRAORDINARY Rate of *Circumſpection* and *Spiritual Mindedneſs*, that we ſhould all now maintain a *Walk with God.* At ſuch a Time as This, ought *Magiſtrates* to Do ſomething EXTRAORDINARY in promoting of what is Laudable, and in Reſtraining and Chaſtiſing of *Evil Doers.* At ſuch a Time as This, ought *Miniſters* to Do ſomething EXTRAORDINARY in pulling the Souls of men out of the *Snares* of the Devil, not only by publick Preaching, but by perſonal Viſits and Counſels, *from Houſe to Houſe.* At ſuch a Time as This, ought *Churches* to Do ſomething EXTRAORDINARY,

ORDINARY, in *Renewing* of their Covenants, and in *Remembring*, and *Reviving* the Obligations of what they have Renewed. Some Admirable Deſigns about the *Reformation* of Manners, have lately been on foot in the Engliſh Nation, in purſuance of the moſt Excellent Admonitions, which have been given for it, by the Letters of Their Majeſties. Beſides the vigorous Agreements of the *Juſtices* here and there in the Kingdom; aſſiſted by Godly Gentlemen and Informers, to Execute the *Laws* upon Profane Offenders: there has been ſtarted, A PROPOSAL, for the well-affected people in every Pariſh, to enter into orderly *Societies*, whereof every Member ſhall bind himſelf, not only to *Avoid* Profaneneſs in himſelf, but alſo according unto their Place, to do their utmoſt in firſt *Reproving*, and, if it muſt be ſo, then *Expoſing*, and ſo *Puniſhing*, as the Law directs, for, others that ſhall be guilty. It has been obſerved, That the Engliſh Nation has had ſome of its greateſt Succeſſes, upon ſome ſpecial, and ſignal *Actions* this way; and a Diſcouragement given unto Legal Proceedings of this Kind, muſt needs be very exercising to the, *Wiſe that obſerve theſe Things*. But, O why ſhould not *New-England* be the moſt forward part of the Engliſh Nation in ſuch *Reformations*? Methinks, I hear the Lord from Heaven ſaying over us, *O that my People had hearkened unto me*; *Then I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies*! There have been ſome ſome feeble Eſſays towards *Reformation*, of late in

our

our *Churches*; but, I pray, what comes of them? Do we stay till the *Storm* of his *Wrath* be over? Nay, let us be Doing what we can as fast as we can, to divert the *Storm*. The *Devils*, having broke in upon our World, there is great Asking, *Who is it that have brought them in?* and many do by *Spectral* Exhibitions come to be *cry'd out* upon. I hope in Gods Time, it will be found, that among those that are thus *Cry'd out* upon, there are persons yet *Clear from the Great Transgression*; but indeed, all the *Unreformed* among us, may justly be *Cry'd out* upon, as having too much of an Hand in letting of the Devils in to our Borders; 'tis *our* Worldliness, *our* Formality, *our* Sensuality, and *our* Iniquity, that has help'd this Letting of the Devils in. O Let us then at last, *Consider our Wayes*. 'Tis a strange passage recorded by Mr. *Clark*, in the Life of his Father, That the People of his Parish refusing to be Reclaimed from their *Sabbath Breaking*, by all the zealous Testimonies which that Good man bore against it; at last, on a Night after the people had Retired Home from a Revelling Profanation of the *Lords Day*, there was heard a Great Noise, with Rattling of Chains, up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimstone fill'd the Neighbourhood. Upon which the *Guilty Consciences* of the Wretches, told them, the Devil was come to fetch them away: and it so terrify'd them, that an Eminent *Reformation* follow'd the Sermons which that man of God Preached thereupon. Behold,

Sinners, Behold, and *Wonder*, leſt you *Periſh*; the very *Devils* are Walking about our Streets, with Lengthened *Chains*, making a dreadful Noiſe in our Ears, and *Brimſtone*, even without a Metaphor, is making an Helliſh and Horrid Stench in our Noſtrils. I Pray, Leave off all thoſe things, whereof your *Guilty Conſciences* may now accuſe you, leſt theſe Devils do yet more direfully fall upon you. *Reformation* is at this Time, our only *Preſervation*.

IV. When the Devil is come down in *Great Wrath*, Let every *Great Vice* which may have a more Particular Tendency to make us a Prey unto that *Wrath*, come into a due Diſcredit with us. It is the General Conceſſion of all men, who are not become too *Unreaſonable* for Common Converſation, That the Invitation of *Witchcrafts* is the Thing that ha's now Introduced the *Devil* into the midſt of us. I ſay then, Let not only all *Witchcrafts* be duely abominated with us, but alſo Let us be duely Watchful againſt all the *Steps* Leading thereunto. There are Leſſer *Sorceries* which, they ſay, are too frequent in our Land. As it was ſaid in 2 King. 17. 9. *The Children of Iſrael did Secretly, thoſe things that were not Right againſt the Lord their God.* So tis to be feared, The Children of *New-England* have *Secretly* done many things that have been pleaſing to the Devil. They ſay, That in ſome Towns, it ha's been an uſual Thing for People to Cure Hurts with *Spells*, or to uſe Deteſtable Conjurations, with *Sieves*, & *Keyes*, and *Peaſe*, and *Nails*, and *Horſe-Shooes*, and I know not what other Implements, to Learn

the Things, for which they have a Forbidden, and an Impious *Curiositie*. 'Tis in the Devils Name, that such Things are done; and in Gods Name I do this Day Charge them, as vile Impieties. By these Courses 'tis, that people play upon *The Hole of the Asp*; till that cruelly venemous *Asp* has pull'd many of them, into the Deep *Hole*, of *Witchcraft* it self. It has been acknowledged by some who have sunk the deepest into this *Horrible Pit*, that they began, at these Little *Witchcrafts*; on which 'tis pitty but the Laws of the English Nation, whereby the Incorrigible Repetition of those *Tricks*, is made *Felony*, were severally Executed. From the like Sinful *Curiosity* it is, that the Prognostications of *Judicial Astrology*, are so Injudiciously Regarded by multitudes among us; and although the Jugling *Astrologers* do scarce ever hit Right, except it be in such *Weighty Judgments*, forsooth, as that many *Old Men* will Dy such a year, and that there will be many *Losses* felt by some that Venture to Sea, and that there will be much *Lying* and *Cheating* in the World; yet their Foolish Admirers, will not be perswaded, but that the Innocent *Stars* have been concern'd in these Events. It is a Disgrace to the English Nation, that the Phamphlets of such Idle, Futil, Trifling *Star-gazers* are so much Considered; and the Countenance hereby given to a Study, wherein at Last, all is done by *Impulse*, if any thing be done to any purpose at all, is not a little perilous

lous to the Souls of men. It is, (*a Science*, I dare not call it, but) a *Juggle*, whereof the Learned *Hall*, well ſays, *It is preſumptuous and unwarrantable, & cryſd ever down by Councils and Fathers, as unlawful, as that which Lies in the mid-way between Magick, and Impoſture, and partakes not a little of both.* Men Conſult the Aſpects of Planets, whoſe Northern or Southern Motions receive Denominations from a *Cæleſtial Dragon*, till the *Infernal Dragon* at length inſinuate into them, with a *Poyſon* of *Witchcraft* that can't be cured. Has there not alſo been a world of *Diſcontent* in our Borders? 'Tis no wonder, that the *Fiery Serpents* are ſo Stinging of us; We have been a moſt *Murmuring Generation.* It is not Irrational, to aſcribe the late Stupendous Growth of *Witches* among us, partly to the Bitter *Diſcontents*, which Affliction and Poverty has fill'd us with: it is inconceivable, what Advantage the Devil gains over men, by *Diſcontent.* Moreover, The Sin of *Unbelief* may be reckoned as perhaps the chief *Crime* of our Land. We are told, *God Swears in Wrath, againſt them that believe not*; and what follows then but this, *That the Devil comes unto them in wrath?* Never were the Offers of the *Goſpel*, more freely Tendered, or more baſely Deſpiſed, among any people under the whole Cope of Heaven, then in This *New-England.* Seems it at all marvellous unto us, that the *Devil* ſhould get ſuch Footing in our Country? Why, 'tis becauſe the *Saviour* has been ſlighted here, perhaps more than any where. The Bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt has

has been profering to us, *Grace, and Glory, and every good thing*, and been alluring of us to Accept of Him, with such Terms as these; *Undone Sinner, I am All*; *Art thou willing that I should be thy All?* But, as a proof of that Contempt which this Unbelief has cast upon these proffers, I would seriously ask of the so many Hundreds above a Thousand People within these Walls; Which of you all, O how few of you, can indeed say, *Christ is mine, and I am his, and He is the Beloved of my Soul?* I would only say thus much: When the precious and glorious Jesus, is Entreating of us to Receive *Him*, in all His *Offices*, with all His *Benefits*; the Devil minds what Respect we pay unto that Heavenly Lord; if we *Refuse Him that speaks from Heaven*, then he that, *Comes from Hell*, does with a sort of claim set in, and cry out, *Lord, since this Wretch is not willing that thou shouldst have him*, I *pray, let me have him.* And thus, by the just vengeance of Heaven, the Devil becomes a *Master*, a *Prince*, a *God*, unto the miserable Unbelievers: but O what are many of them then hurried unto! All of these Evil Things, do I now set before you, as *Branded* with the Mark of the Devil upon them.

V. With *Great Regard*, with *Great Pitty*, should we Lay to Heart the Condition of those, who are cast into Affliction, by the *Great Wrath* of the Devil. There is a Number of our Good Neighbours, and some of them very particularly noted for Goodness and Vertue, of whom we may say, *Lord,*

They

They are vexed with Devils. Their Tortures being primarily Inflicted on their *Spirits*, may indeed cauſe the Impreſſions thereof upon their Bodies to be the leſs *Durable*, tho' rather the more *Senſible*: but they Endure Horrible Things, and many have been actually Murdered. Hard *Cenſures* now beſtow'd upon theſe poor Sufferers, cannot but be very Diſpleaſing unto our Lord, who, as He ſaid, about ſome that had been Butchered by a *Pilate*, in Luc. 13. 2,3. *Think ye that theſe were Sinners above others, becauſe they ſuffered ſuch Things? I tell you No, But except ye Repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe Periſh*: Even ſo, he now ſays, *Think ye that they who now ſuffer by the Devil, have been greater Sinners than their Neighbours.* No, Do you Repent of your *own Sins*, Leſt the Devil come to fall foul of *you*, as he has done to *them*. And if this be ſo, How *Raſh* a thing would it be, if ſuch of the poor Sufferers, as carry it with a Becoming Piety, Seriouſneſs, and Humiliation under their preſent Suffering, ſhould be unjuſtly *Cenſured*; or have their very *Calamity* imputed unto them as a *Crime*? It is an eaſy thing, for us to fall into, the Fault of, *Adding Affliction to the Afflicted*, and of, *Talking to the Grief of thoſe that are already VVounded*: Nor can it be Wiſdom to ſlight the Dangers of ſuch a Fault. In the mean time, We have no Bowels in us, if we do not Compaſſionate the Diſtreſſed County of *Eſſex*, now crying to all theſe Colonies, *Have pitty on me, O ye my Friends,*

Friends, Have pitty on me, for the Hand of the Lord has Touched me, and the Wrath of the Devil has been therewithal turned upon me. But indeed, if an hearty *pitty* be due to any, I am sure, the Difficulties which attend our Honourable *Judges*, doe demand no Inconsiderable share in that *Pitty*. What a Difficult, what an Arduous Task, have those Worthy Personages now upon their Hands? To carry the *Knife* so exactly, that on the one side, there may be no Innocent Blood Shed, by too unseeing a *Zeal for the Children of Israel*; and that on the other side, there may be no Shelter given to those Diabolical *Works of Darkness*, without the Removal whereof we never shall have *Peace*; or to those *Furies* whereof several have kill'd *more people* perhaps than would serve to make a Village: *Hic Labor, Hoc Opus est*! O what need have we, to be concerned, that the Sins of our *Israel*, may not provoke the God of Heaven to leave his *Davids*, unto a wrong Step, in a matter of such Consequence, as is now before them! Our Disingenuous, Uncharitable, Unchristian Reproching of such *Faithful Men*, after all, *The Prayers and Supplications, with strong Crying and Tears*, with which we are daily plying the Throne of Grace, that they may be kept, from what *They Fear*, is none of the way for our preventing of what *We Fear*. Nor all this while, ought our *Pitty* to forget such *Accused* ones, as call for indeed our most Compassionate *Pitty*, till there be fuller Evidences that they are less worthy of it. If *Satan* have any where malici-

ously

ciouſly brought upon the *Stage*, thoſe that have hitherto had a juſt and good ſtock of Reputation, for their juſt and good Living, among us; If the *Evil One* have obtained a permiſſion to *Appear*, in the Figure of ſuch as we have cauſe to think, have hitherto *Abſtained*, even from the *Appearance of Evil*: It is in Truth, ſuch an Invaſion upon *Mankind*, as may well Raiſe an Horror in us all: But, O what Compaſſions are due to ſuch as may come under ſuch Miſrepreſentations, of the *Great Accuſer*! Who of us can ſay, what may be ſhown in the *Glaſſes* of the Great *Lying Spirit*? Altho' the *Uſual Providence* of God [we praiſe Him!] keeps us from ſuch a Miſhap; yet where have we an *Abſolute Promiſe*, that we ſhall every one alwayes be kept from it? As long as *Charity* is bound, to Think *no Evil*, it will not Hurt us that are *Private Perſons*, to forbear the *Judgment* which belongs not unto us. Let it rather be our Wiſh: May the Lord help them to Learn the *Leſſons*, for which they are now put unto ſo hard a School.

VI. With a *Great Zeal*, we ſhould lay hold on the *Covenant* of God, that we may Secure *Us* and *Ours*, from the *Great Wrath*, with which the Devil Rages. Let us come into the *Covenant of Grace*, and then we ſhall not be hook'd into a *Covenant with the Devil*, nor be altogether unfurniſhed with armour, againſt the Wretches that are in that *Covenant*. Theway to come under the Saving Influences of the *New Covenant*, is, to cloſe with the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, who is the

the Allsufficient *Mediator* of it: Let us therefore do *that*, by Resigning up ourselves unto the Saving, Teaching, and Ruling, Hands of this Blessed *Mediator*. Then we shall be, what we read in Jude, 1. *Preserved in Christ Jesus*: That is, as the *Destroying Angel*, could not meddle with such as had been distinguished, by the Blood of the *Passeover* on their Houses, Thus the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, Sprinkled on our Souls, will *Preserve* us from the Devil. The *Birds of prey* (and indeed the *Devils* most literally in the shape of great *Birds!*) are flying about: Would we find a Covert from these *Vultures*: Let us then Hear Our Lord Jesus from Heaven Clocqing unto us, *O that you would be gathered under my Wings.* Well; When this is done, Then let us own the *Covenant*, which we are now come into, by joining ourselves to a Particular *Church*, walking in the Order of the Gospel; at the doing whereof, according to that *Covenant* of God, We give up Ourselves unto the Lord, and in Him unto One Another. While others have had their Names Entred in the *Devils Book*; let our Names be found in the *Church Book*, and let us be, *Written among the Living in Jerusalem.* By no means let, *Church-Work* sink and fail in the midst of us; but let the Tragical Accidents which now happen, exceedingly Quicken that *Work*. So many of the *Rising Generation*, utterly forgetting the Errand of our Fathers to build Churches in this Wilderness, and so many of Our *Cottages* being allow'd to Live, where they do not, and perhaps cannot, wait upon God with the Churches of His People! tis as likely as any one thing to

procure the ſwarmings of *Witch-crafts* among us. But it becomes us, with a like Ardour, to bring our poor *Children* with us, as we ſhall do, when we come ourſelves, into the *Covenant* of God. It would break an heart of Stone, to have ſeen, what I have lately ſeen; Even poor Children of ſeveral Ages, even from ſeven to twenty more or leſs, *Confeſſing* their Familiarity with Devils; but at the ſame time, in Doleful bitter Lamentations, that made a Little Pourtraiture of *Hell* it ſelf, Expoſtulating with their execrable Parents, for *Devoting* them to the Devil in their Infancy, and ſo *Entailing* of Devilliſm upon them! Now, as the Pſalmiſt could ſay, *My Zeal hath Conſumed me, becauſe my Enemies have forgotten thy Words*: Even ſo, let the nefarious wickedneſs of thoſe that have Explicitly dedicated their Children to the Devil, even with Devilliſh Symbols, of ſuch a Dedication, Provoke our *Zeal* to have our Children, Sincerely, Signally, and openly *Conſecrated* unto God; with an *Education* afterwards aſſuring and confirming that Conſecration.

VII. Let our *Prayer* Go up with *Great Faith*, againſt the Devil, that comes down in *Great Wrath*. Such is the Antipathy of the Devil to our *Prayer*, that he cannot bear to ſtay long where much of it is: indeed it is *Diaboli Flagellum*, as well as, *Miſeriæ Remedium*; the Devil will ſoon be Scourg'd out of the Lords Temple, by a *Whip*, made and uſed, with the, *Effectual Fervent Prayer of Righteous Men*. When the Devil

vil by Afflicting of us, drives us to our Prayers, he is, *The Fool making a Whip for his own Back.* Our Lord said of the Devil, in Mat. 17. 21. *This Kind goes not out, but by Prayer and Fasting.* But, *Prayer and Fasting* will soon make the Devil be gone. Here are *Charms* indeed! Sacred and Blessed *Charms*, which the Devil cannot stand before. A *Promise* of God, being well managed in the *Hands* of them, that are much upon their *Knees*, will so, *Resist the Devil*, that he will *Flee from us.* At every other Weapon, the *Devils* will be too hard for us; the *Spiritual Wickednesses in High Places*, have manifestly the Upper Hand of us; that *Old Serpent* will be too Old for us, too cunning, too subtil; they will soon *out-wit* us, if we think to Encounter them with any *Wit* of our own. But when we come to *Prayers*, Incessant and Vehement *Prayers* before the Lord, *there* we shall be too hard for them. When well-directed *Prayers*, that great Artillery of Heaven, are brought into the Field, *There*, methinks I see, *There are these Workers of Iniqnity fallen, all of them!* And who can tell, how much the most *Obscure Christian* among you all, may do towards the Deliverance of our Land from the Molestations which the Devil is now giving unto us. I have Read, That on a Day of Prayer kept by some Good People for and with a Possessed Person, the Devil at last flew out of the Window, and referring to a Devout, plain, mean Woman then in the Room, he cry'd out, O *the Woman behind the Door!*

Door! 'T*is that Woman that forces me away*! Thus, the Devil that now Troubles us, may be forced within a while to Forſake us: and it ſhall be ſaid, *He was driven away by the prayers of ſome Obſcure and Retired Souls, which the world has taken but little notice of*! The Great God, is about a *Great Work* at this Day among us; now there is extream Hazzard leſt the Devil who by *Compulſion* muſt ſubmit unto that *Great Work*, may alſo by *Permiſſion* come to Confound that *Work*: both in the *Detections* of ſome, and in the *Confeſſions* of others, whoſe *Ungodly Deeds* may be brought forth, by a *Great Work* of God, there is Hazzard leſt the Devil intertwiſt ſome of his Deluſions. 'Tis PRAYER, I ſay, 'tis PRAYER, that muſt carry us well thro' the Strange Things that are now upon us. Only that *Prayer*, muſt then be, T*he Prayer of Faith*: O where is our *Faith* in Him, Who *hath Spoiled theſe Principalities and Powers, on His Croſs Triumphing over them*!

VIII. Laſtly, Shake off, every Soul, Shake off the *Hard Yoke* of the Devil, if you would not periſh under the *Great Wrath* of the Devil. Where 'tis ſaid, T*he whole World lies in Wickedneſs*, 'tis by ſome of the Ancients rendred, *The whole world lies in the Devil.* The Devil is a *Prince*, yea, the Devil is a *God* unto all the Unregenerate; and alas, there is, *A whole world of them.* Deſolate Sinners, Conſider what an Horrid *Lord* it is that you are Enſlav'd unto; and Oh ſhake off your Slavery to ſuch a *Lord.* Inſtead of *him*, now 'make your Choice

Choice of the Eternal God in Jesus Christ; Choose *Him* with a most unalterable Resolution; and unto *Him* say, with *Thomas, My Lord, and my God!* Say with the Church, *Lord, other Lords have had the Dominion over us, but now thou alone shalt be our Lord for ever.* Then instead of your perishing under the *wrath* of the Devils, God will fetch you to a place among those that fill up the *Room* of the Devils, left by their Fall from the Ethereal Regions. It was a most awful Speech made by the Devil, Possessing a young Woman, at a Village in *Germany, By the Command of God, I am come to Torment the Body of this young Woman, though* I *cannot hurt her Soul; and it is that* I *may warn men, to take heed of Sinning against God. Indeed* (said he) *'tis very sore against my will that I do it; but the command of God forces me to declare what* I *do; Howeveer I know that at the Last Day, I shall have more Souls than God Himself.* So spoke that horrible Devil! But O that none of our *Souls* may be found among the Prizes of the Devil, in the Day of God! O that what the Devil has been *forc'd to Declare,* of his Kingdom among us, may prejudice our Hearts against him for ever!

My Text saies, *The Devil is come down in Great Wrath, for he has but a short Time.* Yea, but if you do not by a Speedy and Thorough Conversion to God, Escape the *Wrath* of the Devil, you will yourselves *Go down,* where the Devil is to be, and you will there be sweltring under the Devils *Wrath,* not for a *Short Time,* but, *World without End*; not for a

Short

Short Time, but for, *Infinite Millions of Ages*. The ſmoke of your Torment under that *Wrath*, will *Aſcend for ever and ever*! Indeed the Devils Time for his *Wrath* upon you in this World, can be but ſhort, but his *Time* for you to do his *Work*, or, which is all one, to delay your turning to God, that is a *Long Time*. When the Devil was going to be *Diſpoſſeſſed* of a Man, he Roar'd out, *Am I to be Tormented before my Time*. You will *Torment* the Devil, if you Reſcue your Souls out of his hands, by true Repentance: if once you begin to look that way, hee'll Cry out, O *This is before my Time, I muſt have more Time, yet in the Service of ſuch a guilty Soul*. But, I beſeech you, let us join thus to *Torment* the Devil, in an Holy Revenge upon him, for all the Injuries which he has done unto us; let us tell him, *Satan, Thy Time with me is but ſhort, Nay, thy Time with me ſhall be no more; I am inutterably ſorry that it has been ſo much; Depart from me thou Evil-Doer, that would'ſt have me to be an Evil-Doer Like thy ſelf; I will now for ever keep the Commandments of that God, in whom I Live, and Move, and have my Being*! The Devil has plaid a fine Game for himſelf indeed, if by his Troubling of our Land, the ſouls of many People ſhoul come to, *Think upon their Wayes, till eurn they turn their Feet into the Teſtimonies of the Lord*. Now that the Devil may be thus outſhot in his own Bow, is the Deſire of all that *Love the Salvation of God* among us, as well as of him, who has thus Addreſſed You. *Amen*.

Having

HAving thus discourſed on the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, I ſhall now, with Gods Help, go on to relate ſome Remarkable and Memorable Inſtances of *Wonders* which that *World* ha's given to ourſelves. And altho' the chief Entertainment which my Readers do *Expect*, and ſhall Receive, will be, a True Hiſtory of what ha's occurred, reſpecting the WITCHCRAFTS wherewith we are at this day perſecuted, yet I ſhall chooſe to Uſher in the mention of thoſe Things, with

A Narrative
OF AN
APPARITION

Which a Gentleman in *Boſton*, had of his Brother, juſt then Murdered in *London*.

IT was, on the Second of *May* in the Year 1687 that a moſt ingenious, accompliſhed and well-diſpoſed young Gentleman, Mr. *Joſeph Beacon*, by Name, about Five a clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or Waking he could not ſay, (but judged the latter of them,) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, altho' he was now himſelf at Our *Boſton*, diſtanced from him a Thouſand Leagues

Leagues. This his Brother appear'd unto him, in the Morning, about five a Clock at *Boſton*, having on him a *Bengale* Gown, which he uſually wore, with a Napkin Ty'd about his Head; His Countenance was very Pale, Ghaſtly, Deadly, and he had a Bloody Wound On one Side of his Forehead! *Brother*! ſaies the Affrighted *Joſeph*. Brother! Anſwered the Apparition. Said *Joſeph*, *What's the matter, Brother! How came you here*! The Apparition reply'd, *Brother, I have been moſt Barbarouſly and Injuriouſly Butchered, by a Debauch'd, Drunken Fellow, to whom* I *never did any wrong in my life.* Whereupon he gave a particular Deſcription of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, This* Fellow, *changing his Name, is attempting to come cover unto* New-England, *in* Foy *or* Wild; *I would pray you, on the firſt Arrival of either of theſe, to get an Order from the Governour, to Seiz the perſon, whom I have now deſcribed; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother: I'le Stand by you, and prove the Indictment.* And ſo he vaniſhed. Mr. *Beacon* was extreamly aſtoniſhed at what he had ſeen and heard; and the People of the Family not only obſerved an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the Week following, but have alſo given me under their Hands a full Teſtimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. *Beacon* had no Advice of any thing amiſs attending his Brother then in *England*; but about the latter end of *June* following

lowing, he understood by the common ways of communication, that the *April* before, his Brother going in haſt by night to call a coach for a Lady, mett a fellow then in drink, with his *Doxy* in his hand. Some way or other the fellow thought himself affrontted in the haſty paſſage of this *Beacon*, & immediately ran in to the Fire-ſide of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-fork, wherewith he grievouſly wounded *Beacon* in the skull; even in that very part, where the Apparition ſhow'd his wound. Of this Wound he Languiſhed until he Dy'd, on the ſecond of *May*, about five of the Clock in the morning at *London*. The murderer it ſeems, was endeavouring an eſcape, as the Apparition affirm'd, but the Friends of the Deceaſed *Beacon* ſeized him: and proſecuting him at Law, he found the help of ſuch Friends, as brought him off without the loſs of his Life; ſince which, there has no more been heard of the Buſineſs.

This Hiſtory I received of Mr *Joſeph Beacon* himſelf; who, a little before his own Pious & Hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story written and ſigned with his own Hand, and Atteſted with the Circumſtances I have already mentioned.

BUt I ſhall no longer detain my Reader, from His expected entertainment; in a Brief Account of the *Trials*, which have paſſed upon ſome of the Malefactors, Lately Executed at *Salem*, for the *Witchcrafts*, whereof they ſtood Convicted. For

my own part, I was not Preſent at any of *Them*; nor ever Had I any perſonal prejudice at the perſons thus brought upon the Stage; much leſs, at the Surviving Relations of thoſe perſons, with and for whom I would be as Hearty a mourner as any man Living in the World: *The Lord Comfort them!* But having Received a Command, ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly Relate the Chief *Matters of fact* which occurr'd in the Trials of ſome that where Executed; in an Abridgment collected out of the *Court-Papers*, on this occaſion put into my Hands. You are to take the *Truth*, juſt as it was; and the *Truth* will hurt no good man. There might have been more of theſe, if my Book would not thereby have been ſwollen too big; and if ſome other worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe *Collections*; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out *Four* or *Five* which may ſerve to Illuſtrate the way of dealing, wherein *Witchcrafts* uſe to be concerned; and I Report matters not as an *Advocate* but as an *Hiſtorian*.

They were ſome of the Gracious Words, inſerted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Miniſters, did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, *We cannot but with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Aſſiduous endeavours of Our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; Humbly Praying that the diſcovery of thoſe myſterious and miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be perfected.* If in the midſt of

the

the many Dissatisfactions among us, the publication of these Trials, may promote such a pious *Thankfulness* unto God, for Justice being *so far*, executed among us, I shall Rejoyce that God is Glorified; and pray that no wrong steps of ours may ever sully any of His Glorious Works.

But we will begin with,

A Modern Instance of Witches Discovered and Condemned, in a Trial, before that Celebrated Judge, Sir. *Matthew Hale.*

IT may cast some *Light* upon the *Dark* Things now in *America*, if we just give a glance upon the *Like Things* lately hapening in *Europe*. We may see the *Witchcrafts* here, most exactly resemble the *Witchcrafts* there; and we may learn what sort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable Baxter very truly sais, *Judge* Hale *was a Person, than whom no Man, was more backward, to Condemn a Witch, without full Evidence.*

Now, One of the Latest Printed Accounts, about a, *Trial of Witches*, is of what was before *him*; and it ran on this wise. [Printed in the Year 1682] And it is here the rather mentioned, because it was a Trial, much considered by the Judges of *New-England.*

I. *Rose Cullender*, and *Amy Duny*, were severally Indicted, for Bewitching *Elizabeth Durent*, *Ann Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Susan Chandler*, *William Durent*, *Elizabeth*

Elizabeth and *Deborah Pacy*. And the evidence, whereon they were Convicted, ſtood upon diverſe particular Circumſtances.

II. Ann Durent, *Suſan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacy*, when they came into the Hall, to give Inſtructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into ſtrange and violent Fitts, ſo that they were unable to give in their Depoſitions, not only then but alſo During the whole Aſſizes. *William Durent* being an Infant, his Mother Swore, That *Amy Duny* looking after her Child one Day in her abſence, did at her return confeſs, that ſhe had *given ſuck to the Child*: (tho' ſhe were an Old Woman;) Whereat, when *Durent* expreſſed her diſpleaſure, *Duny* went away with Diſcontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into ſtrange and ſad Fitts, wherein it continued for Diverſe Weeks. One Doctor *Jacob* adviſed her to hang up the Childs Blanket, in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night, when ſhe went to put the Child into it, if ſhe found any Thing in it then to throw it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly, at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up & down the Hearth. A Boy, catch't it, & held it in the Fire with the Tongs: where it made an horrible Noiſe, and Flaſh'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report like that of a Piſtol: Whereupon the Toad was no more to be ſeen. The next Day a kinſwoman of *Duny's*, told the Deponent, that her

her Aunt was all grievously scorch'd with the Fire, and the Deponent going to her House, found her in such a Condition. *Duny* told her, she might thank her for it; but she should live to see some of her Children Dead, and her self upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child Recovered.

This Deponent further Testify'd, That Her Daughter *Elizabeth*, being about the Age of Ten Years, was taken in like manner, as her first Child was, and in her Fitts complained much of *Amy Duny*, and said, that she did appear to Her, and afflict her in such manner as the former. One Day she found *Amy Duny* in her House, and thrusting her out of Doors, *Duny* said, *You need not be so Angry, your Child won't live long.* And within three Days the Child Dyed. The Deponent added, that she was Her self, not long after taken with such a Lameness, in both her Leggs, that she was forced to go upon Crutches; and she was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in *Duny* Guilty, *Durent* was restored unto the use of her Limbs, and went Home without Her Crutches.]

III. As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, one Aged Eleven years, the other Nine; the elder, being in Court, was made utterly senseless, during all the time of the Triall: or at least speechless. By the direction of the Judge, *Duny* was privately brought to *Elizabeth*

beth Pacy, and ſhe touched her Hand: whereupon the child, without, ſo much as ſeeing her, ſuddenly leap'd up and flew upon the priſoner; the younger was too ill, to be brought unto the Aſſizes. But *Samuel Pacy*, their Father, teſtify'd, that his Daughter *Deborah*, was taken with a ſudden lameneſs; and upon the grumbling of *Amy Duny*, for being denyed ſomething, where this child was then ſitting, the child was taken with an extreeme pain in her ſtomach,, like the pricking of pins; and ſhrieking ata dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather then a Rational creature. The Phyſicians could not conjecture the cauſe of the Diſtemper; but *Amy Duny* being a woman of Ill Fame, and the child in fitts crying out of *Amy Duny*, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her perſon, the deponent ſuſpected her, and procured her to be ſet in the ſtocks. While ſhe was there, ſhe ſaid in the hearing of two Witneſſes, *Mr* Pacy *keeps a great ſtir about his child, but let him ſtay till he has done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine*: and being asked, What ſhe had done to her Children, ſhe anſwered, *She had been fain to open her Childs mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.* The Deponent added, that within two Days, the Fits of his Daughters were ſuch, that they could not preſerve either Life or Breath, without the help of a Tap. And that the Children cry'd out of *Amy Duny*, and of *Roſe Cullender*, as afflicting them, with their Apparitions.

IV. The Fits of the Children, were various.

They

They would sometimes be Lame on one side; sometimes on t'other. Sometimes very sore; sometimes restored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extreamly; and with much Flegm, they would bring up Crooked Pins; & one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would cast up a Pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of, *Lord*, or *Jesus* or *Christ*, but would fall into Fitts; and say, Amy Duny *says, I must not use that Name*. When they came to the Name of *Satan*, or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers on the Book, crying out, *This bites, but it makes me speak right well*! The Children in their Fitts, would often cry out, *There stands* Amy Duny, *or*, Rose Cullender; and they would afterwards relate, *That these Witches appearing before them, threatned them, that if they told what they saw or heard, they would Torment them ten times more than ever they did before.*

V. *Margaret Arnold*, the Sister of Mr. *Pacy*, testify'd unto the like Sufferings being upon the Children, at her House, whither her Brother had Removed them. And that sometimes, the Children (*only*) would see things like Mice, run about the House; and one of them suddenly snap't one with the Tongs, and threw it in-

to

to the Fire, where it ſcreeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee, flew at the Face of the younger Child; the Child fell into a Fitt; and at laſt Vomited up a, *Two-penny Nail*, with a Broad Head; affirming, *That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her mouth.* The Child would in like manner be aſſaulted with Flies, which brought Crooked Pins, unto her, and made her firſt ſwallow them, and then Vomit them. She one Day caught, an Inviſible *Mouſe*, and throwing it into the Fire, it Flaſh'd like to Gun-Powder. None beſides the Child ſaw the *Mouſe*, but every one ſaw the *Flaſh*. She alſo declared, out of her Fitts, that in them, *Amy Duny*, much tempted her to Deſtroy Her ſelf.

VI. As for *Ann Durent*, her Father Teſtifyed That upon a Diſcontent of *Roſe Cullender*, His Daughter was taken with much Illneſs in her Stomach and great and ſore Pains, like the pricking of pins: and then Swooning Fitts, from which Recovering ſhe declared, *She had ſeen the Apparition of* Roſe Cullender, *Threatning to Torment her.* She likewiſe Vomited up diverſe Pins. The Maid was Preſent at Court, but when *Cullender* look'd upon her, ſhe fell into ſuch Fitts, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin, depoſed the ſame.

VII. *Jane Bocking*, was too weak, to be at the

the Assizes. But her Mother Testify'd, that Her Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fitts, and Recovered of them; was now taken with a great Pain in her Stomach; and New Swooning Fitts. That she took little Food, but every Day Vomited Crooked Pins. In her first Fitts, she would Extend her Arms, and use Postures; as if she catched at something, and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find several Pins diversely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would also maintain a Discourse with some that were Invisibly present, when casting abroad her Arms, she would often say, *I will not have it*! but at last say, *Then I will have it!* and closing her Hand, which when they presently after opened, a Lath-Nail was found in it. But Her great complaints were of being Visited by the shapes of *Amy Duny*, and *Rose Cullender*.

VIII. As for *Susan Chandler*, Her Mother Testifyed, That being at the search of *Rose Cullender*, they found on her Belly a thing like a Teat, of an Inch long; which the *said Rose* ascribed to a strain. But near her Privy parts, they found Three more, that were smaller than the former. At the end of the long Teat, there was a little Hole, which appeared, as if newly Sucked; and upon straining it, a white milky matter issued out. The Deponant further said, That her Daughter being one day concerned at *Rose Cullenders* taking her by the Hand, she fell very sick, and at Night cry'd out,

That

That Roſe Cullender *would come to Bed unto her.* Her Fitts grew violent, and in the Intervals of them, ſhe declared, *That ſhe ſaw* Roſe Cullender *in them, and once having of a great Dog with her.* She alſo vomited up crooked Pins; and when ſhe was brought into Court, ſhe fell into her Fitts. She Recovered her ſelf in ſome Time, and was asked by the Court, whether ſhe was in a Condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She ſaid, ſhe could; but having been Sworn, ſhe fell into her Fitts again, and, *Burn her! Burn her!* were all the words that ſhe could obtain power to ſpeak. Her Father likewiſe gave the ſame Teſtimony with her Mother; as to all but the Search.

IX. Here was the Sum of the Evidence: which Mr. Serjeant *Keeling*, thought not ſufficient to Convict the Priſoners. For admitting the Children were Bewitched, yet, ſaid he, it can never be Apply'd unto the Priſoners, upon the Imagination only of the Parties Afflicted; inaſmuch as no perſon whatſoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. *Brown*, a very Learned Perſon then preſent, gave his Opinion, that theſe perſons were Bewitched. He added, That in *Denmark*, there had been lately a great Diſcovery of Witches; who uſed the very ſame way of Afflicting people, by Conveying Pins and Nails into them. His Opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did Work upon the Bodies of Men and Women, upon a *Natural Foundation*; and that he did Extraordinarily af-

flict

fict them, with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject unto.

X. The Experiment about the *Usefulness*, yea, or *Lawfulness* whereof Good Men have sometimes disputed, was divers Times made, That though the Afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their Fitts, yet upon the *Touch* of the Accused, they would so screech out, and Fly up, as not upon any other persons. And yet it was also found that once upon the touch of an innocent person, the like effect follow'd, which put the whole Court unto a stand: altho' a small Reason was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to strengthen the Credit of what had been already produced against the Prisoners. One *John Soam* testify'd, That bringing home his Hay in three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of *Rose Cullenders* House, whereupon she flew out, with violent Threatenings against the Deponent. The other two Carts, passed by twice, Loaded, that Day afterwards; but the Cart which touched *Cullenders* House, was twice or thrice that Day overturned. Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which Leads out of the Field, the Cart stuck so fast in the Gates Head, that they could not possibly get it thro', but were forced to cut down the Post of the Gate, to make the Cart pass thro', altho' they could not

not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-Post. They afterwards, did with much Difficulty get it home to the yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they should unload. They were fain to unload at a great Distance; and when they were Tired, the Noses of them that came to Assist them, would burst forth a Bleeding; so they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any Difficulty.

XII. *Robert Sherringham* also testify'd, That the Axle-Tree of his Cart, happening in passing, to break some part of *Rose Cullenders* House, in her Anger at it, she vehemently threatned him, *His Horses should suffer for it.* And within a short time, all his Four Horses dy'd; after which he sustained many other losses in the sudden Dying of his Cattle. He was also taken with a Lameness in his limbs; and so vexed with lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigness, that no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up, two suits of Apparrel.

XIII. As for *Amy Duny*, t'was testifi'd by one *Richard Spencer* that he heard her say, *The Devil would not lett her Rest; until she were Revenged on the wife of* Cornelius Sandswel And that *Sandswel* testify'd, that her Poultrey dy'd suddenly, upon *Amy Dunyes* threatning of them; and that her Husbands Chimney fell, quickly after *Duny* had spoken of such

such a disaster. And a firkin of Fish could not be kept from falling into the water, upon suspicious words of *Dimy's.*

XIV. The Judge told the Jury, they were to inquire now, first, whether these Children were Bewitched; and secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were such Creatures as Witches; for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such persons. He pray'd the God of Heaven, to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for, *To Condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*

The Jury in half an Hour, brought them in *Guilty*, upon their several Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord Chief Justice, and were in as good Health, as ever in their Lives; being Restored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were Executed; and *Confessed* nothing; which indeed will not be wondred by them, who Consider and Entertain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, *That the Unpardonable Sin, is most usually Committed by Professors of the Christian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.*

We

We will now proceed unto ſeveral of the like Trials among our ſelves.

I.

THE

TRYAL of G. B.

At a Court of

Oyer and Terminer,

Held in *Salem.* 1692.

GLad ſhould I have been, if I had never known the Name of this man; or never had this occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt Letters of his Name. But the Government requiring ſome Account, of his Trial, to be Inſerted in this Book, it becomes me with all Obedience, to ſubmit unto the Order.

I. This *G. B.* was Indicted for *Witchcrafts*; and in the Proſecution of the Charge againſt him, he was Accuſed by five or ſix of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miſeries; he was Accuſed by eight of the Confeſſing Witches, as being an Head Actor at ſome of their Helliſh Randezvouzes, and

one who had the promise of being a *King* in Satans Kingdom, now going to be Erected; he was Accused by nine persons, for extraordinary Lifting, and such Feats of Strength, as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such Things he was Accused, until about Thirty Testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these, judg'd the half of what might have been considered, for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a *Witch* upon him, according to the Rules of Reasoning, by the Judicious *Gaule*, in that Case directed.

II. The Court being sensible, that the *Testimonies of the Parties Bewitched*, use to have a Room among the *Suspicions*, or *Presumptions*, brought in against one Indicted for Witchcraft, there were now heard the Testimonies of several Persons, who were most notoriously Bewitched, and every day Tortured by Invisible Hands, and these now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to have a share in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the Bewitched People were grievously harassed, with Preternatural Mischiefs, which could not possibly be Dissembled; and they still ascribed it unto the Endeavours of *G. B.* to kill them. And now upon his Trial, one of the Bewitched Persons testify'd, That in her Agonies, a little Black hair'd man came to her, saying his Name was *B.* and bidding her set her hand unto a Book which he show'd unto her; and bragging that he was a

Conjurer,

Conjurer above the ordinary Rank of Witches; That he often perſecuted her, with the offer of that Book, ſaying, *She ſhould be well, and need fear no body, if ſhe would but Sign it*: but he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, becauſe of her Denying ſo to do. The Teſtimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with theſe; and it was Remarkable, that whereas *Biting*, was one of the ways which the Witches uſed, for the vexing of the Sufferers, when they cry'd out of *G. B.* biting them, the print of the Teeth, would be ſeen on the Fleſh of the Complainers; and juſt ſuch a ſett of *Teeth*, as *G. B*'s would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other mens. Others of them teſtify'd, That in their Torments, *G. B.* tempted them, to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a ſound of Trumpet Summoning of other Witches; who quickly after the Sound would come from all Quarters unto the Rendezvouz. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, That *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he ſhow'd her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and ſaid, *He would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his Book*; but ſhe told him, *They were none of his to give*; and refuſed the motions; enduring of much miſery for that Refuſal.

It coſt the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the Teſtimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depoſitions, they would

would for a long while be taken with fitts, that made them uncapable of saying any thing. The Chief Judge asked the prisoner, who he thought hindred these witnesses from giving their testimonies? and he answered, *He supposed, it was the Divel?* That Honourable person, then reply'd, *How comes the Divel so loathe to have any Testimony born against you?* Which cast him into very great confusion.

III. It has been a frequent thing for the Bewitched people, to be entertained with Apparitions of *Ghosts* of murdered people, at the same time, that the *Spectres* of the witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always affright the Beholders, more than all the other spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out, of being Murdered by the witchcrafts or other violences of the persons who are then in spectre present. It is further considerable, that once or twice, these *Apparitions* have been seen by others at the very same time that they have shown them selves to the Bewitched; & seldom have there been these *Apparitions* but when somthing unusual & suspected had attended the Death of the party thus Appearing. Some that have bin accused by these *Apparitions*, accosting of the Bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such persons, ever being in the world, have upon a fair examination freely, and fully, confessed the murders of those very persons, altho' these also did not know how the *Apparitions* had complained of them. Accordingly several of the Bewitched,

had given in their Teſtimony, that they had been troubled with the *Apparitions* of two women, who ſaid, that they were *G. Bs.* two wives; and that he had been the Death of them; and that the Magiſtrates muſt be told of it, before whom if *B.* upon his trial deny'd it, they did not know but that they ſhould appear again in the Court. Now, *G. B.* had been infamous for the Barbarous uſage of his two ſucceſſive *wives*, all the Country over. Moreover; It was teſtifi'd, the ſpectre of *G. B.* threatning of the ſufferers told them, he had killed (beſides others) Mrs *Lawſon* and her Daughter *Ann.* And it was noted, That theſe were the vertuous wife and Daughter, of one at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice for his being ſerviceable at *Salem-village*, from whence himſelf had in Ill Terms removed ſome years before: & that when they dy'd, which was long ſince, there were ſome odd circumſtances about them, which made ſome of the Attendents there ſuſpect ſomething of witchraft, tho' none Imagined from what Quarter it ſhould come.

Well, G. B. being now upon his Triall, one of the Bewitched perſons was caſt into Horror at the Ghoſts of B's. two deceaſed wives, then appearing before him, and crying for, *Vengeance*, againſt him. Hereupon ſeveral of the Bewitched perſons were ſucceſſively called in, who all not knowing what the former had ſeen and ſaid, concurred in their Horror, of the Apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him. But he, tho' much appalled, utterly deny'd that he diſcerned any thing of it; nor was it any part of his *Conviction*. IV.

IV Judicious Writers, have assigned it a great place, in the Conviction of *witches*, *when persons are Impeached by other Notorious witches, to be as Ill as themselves; especially, if the persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God.* Now, as there might have been Testimonies Enough of G. B's. Antipathy to *Prayer* and the other Ordinances of God, tho' by his profession singularly obliged thereunto; so, there now came in against the prisoner, the Testimonies of several persons, who confessed their own having been Horrible *Witches*, and ever since their confessions had been themselves terribly Tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the pains of many *Deaths* for their Confessions.

These now Testify'd, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-Meetings with them; and that he was the Person who had Seduced, and Compelled them into the snares of Witchcraft: That he promised them *Fine Cloaths*, for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and thorns to stick into those Poppets, for the afflicting of other People: And that he exhorted them, with the rest of the Crue, to bewitch all *Salem-Village*, but beware to do it Gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancashire Witches* were condemn'd, I don't Remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the Bewitched, and then that of some that confessed. We see so much already against *G. B.* But this being indeed not *Enough*, there

were, other things to render what had been already produced *credible*.

V. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; *The Teſtimony of the Party Bewitched, whether Living or Dying; together with the Joint Oathes of Sufficient Perſons, that have ſeen certain Prodigious Pranks or Feats, wrought by the party Accuſed.* Now God had been pleaſed ſo to leave this G. B. that he had enſnared himſelf, by ſeveral Inſtances which he had formerly given of a Preternatural ſtrength, and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very Puny man; yet he had often done things beyond the ſtrength of a Giant. A Gun of about ſeven foot barrel, and ſo heavy that ſtrong men could not ſteadily hold it out, with both hands; there were ſeveral Teſtimonies, given in by Perſons of Credit and Honour, that he made nothing of taking up ſuch a Gun behind the Lock, with but one hand, and holding it out like a Piſtol, at Arms-end. G. B. in his Vindication was ſo fooliſh as to ſay, *That an Indian was there, and held it out at the ſame time*: Whereas, none of the Spectators ever ſaw any ſuch *Indian*; but they ſuppos'd the *Black man* (as the Witches call the *Devil*; and they generally ſay he reſembles an *Indian*) might give him that Aſſiſtence. There was Evidence, likewiſe, brought in, that he made nothing of Taking up whole Barrels fill'd with *Malaſſes*, or *Cider*, in very Diſadvantagious Poſtures, and Carrying of them

them through the Difficulteſt Places, out of a Canoo to the Shore.

[Yea, there were Two Teſtimonies, that G. B. with only putting the Fore-Finger of his Right hand, into the Muzzel of an heavy Gun, a Fowling-piece, of about ſix or ſeven foot Barrel, did Lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms end; a Gun which the Deponents, though ſtrong men, could not with both hands Lift up, and hold out, at the Butt end, as is uſual. Indeed one of theſe Witneſſes, was over perſwaded by ſome perſons, to be out of the way, upon G. B. 's Trial; but he came afterwards, with ſorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Teſtimony: Nor were either of theſe Witneſſes made uſe of as evidences in the Trial.]

VI. There came in ſeveral Teſtimonies, relating to the Domeſtick Affayrs of G. B. which had a very hard Aſpect upon him; and not only prov'd him a very ill man; but alſo confirmed the Belief of the Character, which had been already faſtned on him. e. g.

T'was teſtifyed, That keeping his two Succeſſive Wives in a ſtrange kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them. That he ha's brought them to the point of Death, by his Harſh Dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him to promiſe that in Caſe Death ſhould happen, they would ſay no-

thing of it. That he used all means to make his Wives Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant, never to Reveal any of his Secrets. That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested; and that many such things have been Whispered among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies, relating to the Death of People, whereby the Consciences of an Impartial Jury, were convinced, that *G. B.* had Bewitched the persons mentioned in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such passages, in this, as well as in all the succeeding *Trials*, because the Scribes who took Notice of them, have not Supplyed me.

VII. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother in Law to this *G. B.* Testify'd, that *G. B.* and he himself, and his Sister who was *G. B's* Wife, going out for Two or three Miles, to gather Straw-Berries, *Ruck*, with his Sister the Wife of G. B. Rode home very Softly, with G. B. on Foot in their Company, G. B. stept aside a little into the Bushes; Whereupon they Halted and Hallooʻd for him. He not answering, they went away homewards, with a Quickened pace; without any expectation of seeing him in a considerable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their Astonishment they found him on foot, with them, having a Basket of Straw-Berries. G. B. immediately, then fell to chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Bro-

Brother, of him, on the Road: which when they wondred at, he said, *He knew their thoughts. Ruck* being startled at that, made some Reply, intimating that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, *My God, makes known your Thoughts unto me.* The prisoner now at the Barr had nothing to answer, unto what was thus Witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck, and his Wife left a man with him, when they left him.* Which *Ruck* now affirm'd to be false; and when the Court asked *G. B. What the Man's Name was?* his countenance was much altered; nor could he say, who 'twas. But the Court began to think, that he then step'd aside, only that by the assistance of the *Black Man*, he might put on his *Invisibility*, and in that *Fascinating Mist*, gratify his own Jealous humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendring themselves *Invisible*, our Witches do in their confessions pretend that they sometimes are Masters of; and it it is the more credible, because there is Demonstration that they often render many other things utterly *Invisible*.

VIII. *Faltring, Fau ty, unconstant, and contrary Answers upon Judicial and deliberat e examination*, are counted some unlucky symptoms of guilt, in all crimes; Especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a prisoner more Emiuent for them, than G.B. both at his Examination and on his Trial. His *Tergiversations, Contradictions*, and *Falsehoods*, were very sensible; he had little to say, but that he

heard some things that he could not prove, Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the witnesses. Only he gave in a paper, to the Jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before, granted, not only that there are *Witches*, but also that the present sufferings of the Countrey are the Effect of horrible *Witchcrafts*, yet he now goes to, evince it, *That there neither are, nor ever were, Witches that having made a compact with the Divel, Can send a Divel to Torment other people at a distance.* This paper was Transcribed out of *Ady*; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which his evasion afterwards was, that a Gentleman gave him the discourse, in a manuscript, from whence he Transcribed it.

IX. The Jury brought him in *guilty*; But when he came to Dy, he utterly deny'd the Fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.

FINIS.